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OR,

MEMOIRS

OF

ILLUSTRIOUS AND CELEBRATED

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OF ALL AGES AND COUNTRIES.

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MEMOIRS

OF

DISTINGUISHED WOMEN.

CATHERINE II. (*Concluded.*)

IN tranquillity, abroad and at home, Catherine employed herself in cultivating the arts of peace, in the improvement of the country, and in enlightening the minds of the nation. In these occupations Potemkin became so useful as to acquire an influence almost despotic. To him the courtiers looked as to the source of honours, and the people as the dispenser of benefits: nor did he fail to abuse his good fortune. The empress studied to preserve the peace between her favourite and the Orloffs, whose petition to retire was rejected, lest they should carry with them sentiments that might become dangerous to the empire. Gregory Orloff, piqued and incensed at this refusal, expostulated with Catherine, and recalled to her remembrance his boasted services, his fidelity and his zeal. Having listened with temper to his complaints, she soothed his resentment, and assured him that the empress was always his friend. She wished, by opposing him to the petulance of his rival, to check the presumption of Potemkin, and to balance them against each other.

Orloff experienced new mortification in the resolution of the empress to visit Moscow, a measure advised by his rival, and against which he remonstrated in vain. Aware of the bigotry of the provinces through which she must pass, Catherine disdained not to flatter the popular superstitions: she

carried with her a number of small figures of saints, which she caused to be distributed among the churches and chapels on the road. A large picture, richly decorated with gold and diamonds, was also prepared for the cathedral at Moscow, and, placed on a carriage, followed in the train of the empress. Six hundred men from each regiment of guards, who had preceded her arrival at the ancient metropolis, drawn up in arms, waited to receive her.

Catherine entered Moscow, under triumphal arches, with a brilliant retinue, amidst a crowd of spectators: order and magnificence prevailed on every side. The populace, more surprised than affected, exhibited no symptoms of joy. All was silent, though a diminution of imposts had been proclaimed previous to the ceremony. But the homage which was withheld from the mother was lavished upon the son. It is pretended, that a courtier, struck with the contrast, thus addressed the duke, into whose sentiments he wished to penetrate: 'Your imperial highness sees how much you are beloved. Oh! if you would . . . . .' Paul, to his honour, is said to have answered this insinuation only by a severe look. Some days after her arrival at Moscow, Catherine performed a pilgrimage on foot attended by her court, to a convent situated forty versts from the city. Count Panin only was omitted in the invitation to this act of devotion.

Panin had become negligent of his duties both as a courtier and minister: Potemkin, who, in succeeding to the post of Orloff, had succeeded to his ambition, took advantage of this remissness to prejudice him in favour of the empress. The favourite, who aspired to the hand and throne of Catherine, stood in awe of the frankness and influence of the minister.

With these views Potemkin, whose disregard and contempt of religion had been notorious, suddenly assumed the exterior of piety. At the beginning of Lent, to the astonishment of the court, he renounced those luxuries to which he had been attached, and practised the most rigid austerity. He confessed regularly every day, and wearied the saints with prayer: his table was furnished with roots, and his drink was water. To the confessor of Catherine, to whom he chose to unburthen his transgressions, he disclosed the scruples of his conscience respecting his intercourse with the empress, since it had not

received the sanction of the church. The monk, from whatever motive, entered into the views of his penitent, and acquitted himself of the commission he had received. Catherine, perceiving the source of this pretended delicacy, sent for Potemkin, to whom she addressed herself with mingled tenderness and firmness. She gave him to understand, without entering into any explanations, that, notwithstanding her regard for him, she was still mistress of her passions; and that if he was no longer disposed to fill the post of favourite, she could resolve without difficulty to put another in his place.

Potemkin, confounded and abashed, was unable to conceal his vexation: he talked of taking orders, and causing himself to be consecrated archbishop. But the empress returned to Petersburgh; the new convert followed in her train, and left at Moscow his resentment and his scruples.

During the stay of Catherine in the ancient capital, marshal Romantzoff returned in triumph from the Turkish war, of which he had been the hero. He was received with distinction as the most illustrious supporter of the throne, covered with honours, and laden with benefits. Rewards apportioned to their rank and merit, and to the munificence of the sovereign, were distributed among his officers, with large gold medals struck for the occasion. Several noblemen were at the same time recalled from their exile in Siberia. Various taxes were abolished and regulations planned, in a spirit of true policy, beneficence and wisdom. The empire was divided, for the better administration of the laws, into governments or viceroyalties; the interior provinces were also by this measure refined and civilized: the rich salaries and example of the civil officers, the erection of a public theatre, and other incitements to improvement in dress and manners, gradually softened the national ferocity. In this division of the empire its old constitutions were completely altered; all was simple, uniform, and novel.

Two institutes in every government-department are deserving of mention: the college of general provision, which took cognizance of affairs relative to schools, infirmaries, workhouses, mad-houses, &c. and the court of conscience, which, in cases were judicial proofs were not to be had, pronounced according to equity, and before which the governor himself

might be cited by the most obscure individual. Every college had its peculiar members, and the members their stated rank; an exact gradation, which contributed to the maintenance of order, prevailed through the whole. The inhabitants of distant provinces in this immense empire had, before the appointment of these institutions, been compelled to travel to Moscow or Petersburgh in pursuit of justice. A right was however preserved to the appealing party, to refer the cause adjudged by the provincial tribunal to the senates, or to the council of the sovereign. If the original judgment was in this case confirmed, the appellant forfeited a fine. Joy was diffused among the inhabitants of Siberia, and their commerce revived, which languished under the scarcity of a circulating medium, by the establishment of a bank.

The attention of Catherine was more especially occupied by extending and encouraging the general trade of the empire, which she justly considered as the foundation of her greatness. No important change had, since the conclusion of the war, taken place in Poland: under the order preserved by the strong grasp of power, the country began to recover from devastation: its plains once more rewarded the labours of the husbandman. The moderation of the court of Petersburgh produced some effect on the conduct of its allies, who relaxed from their former rigour and violence. To excite emulation, and to confer a dignity on those of her subjects who should devote themselves to commerce, Catherine published an edict, or ukause of grace, freeing them from the capitation, and the necessity of drawing lots for supplying recruits to the army and navy: the free boors were also permitted, on condition of paying one *per cent.* annually to the crown for the capital which they should employ in traffic, to enrol themselves in one of the mercantile classes. With the same commercial views, the treaty with England was renewed: the empress was also declared patroness of industry and agriculture. New manufactories were, by her direction and encouragement, every where established; workmen were employed to rebuild the villages, and repair the devastation of the late rebellion: happy had it been for Russia if those to whom Catherine entrusted the execution of her plans had imbibed a portion of her own enlightened spirit!

The advantages offered to foreigners, added to the inducement of an unlimited religious toleration, contributed to people those vast deserts, which, in many parts, required only cultivation, to become the sources of animal life and happiness. Twelve new colonies, comprehending more than 6000 families, were already established on the borders of the Volga. To facilitate the communication and commerce with China, endeavours were used to form a cultivated tract through the regions which separated the two empires.

The inhabitants of the newly acquired provinces having solicited to have their taxes remain on the former footing, Catherine, with a liberal policy, granted more than their request, and reduced their imposts to the half of their existing rates. Various other regulations were also established, which had for their end the security and happiness of the subject. The attention paid to the increase and improvement of the navy bespoke the design of government of advancing speedily into the first class of maritime powers. But of all the projects of Catherine, that of joining the remote and inland Caspian with the far distant Frozen ocean was the most stupendous: this plan, if ever executed, will exhibit an extraordinary instance of human industry.

Though incessantly occupied with great designs, Catherine nevertheless found time for amusements; if constant in her ambition, she was fickle in her attachments; by those who admire her as a sovereign, she cannot be defended as a woman. While she continued to lavish benefits and dignities upon Potemkin, her inclinations had already selected another object. Zavadoffsky, a young Ukrainian, was favoured in private with the smiles of the empress. At first appointed her secretary, he was shortly after openly preferred. This arrangement gave occasion at court to a singular scene. It had been the invariable custom for the discarded favourite, when superseded by a rival, to receive orders to travel, and these orders, without excepting the ferocious Orloff, had been as invariably obeyed. Potemkin only presumed to contemn them. On the day after he had received this command, with which he at first affected a compliance, he repaired to the palace, and, with great tranquillity, placed himself opposite to the empress, as she was sitting down to cards. Catherine, without appearing either

discomposed or offended by his boldness, presented him with a card from the pack, observing, at the same time, that he always played with fortune: his departure was no more spoken of; he preserved his posts, his honours, and his interest, and from the lover became the friend of the empress. If the Ukrainer possessed the art of pleasing, Potemkin knew how to render himself useful; his talents, more analogous to the genius of Catherine, uninterruptedly preserved their ascendent.

Prince Orloff, presuming too suddenly on the disgrace of his rival, hastened to Petersburgh, whence, having made his appearance and kissed the hand of his sovereign, he as hastily returned to Moscow. The courtiers were perplexed between the two favourites, to determine which was the happy lover; they could not be persuaded that Potemkin would surrender his interest in the affections of his mistress; they neglected to consider that love is with most men, after the first periods of youth, silent in the presence of ambition.

The party of Panin, whose habitual indolence had nearly degenerated into apathy, was solicitous that the grand-duke should lay claim to the throne, of which he was the rightful heir; but the moderation of Paul, and his reverence for his mother, impeded their views in his favour. Catherine was not on this subject free from inquietude, though she mistrusted the power of the prince rather than his inclinations. These fears were observed by the king of Prussia, who failed not to apply them to his own benefit. Aware of the effectual support which it was in his power to give to the duke, he used his advantage to bend the empress to his purposes. To preserve the friendship of Frederic, Catherine hesitated not to make many sacrifices.

The grand-duke had a friendship for count Razumoffsky, in whom he placed an entire confidence: the empress, acquainted with the enterprising spirit of the count, was alarmed at this intimacy, which she determined to break. With this view, she availed herself of some symptoms of intelligence which she had remarked between the count and the grand-dutchess, to infuse suspicions into the mind of Paul. But the prince, unwilling to distrust his consort or his friend, withdrew not his kindness from the latter, while to the former he recommended a more cautious behaviour. The grand-dutchess, however, whether already disposed to favour Razumoffsky, or piqued

by the restraints laid upon her, continued privately to correspond with the count. It was even believed, that, from vindictive motives, she entered into political intrigues against the empress. Whatever might have been her views, a premature death precluded their development. She expired in childbed, and the circumstances of her fate reflected some imputations on the conduct of Catherine.

The czarina, overwhelmed by this event with real or pretended grief, retired with the duke, whom a sincere affliction had seized, to Tzar-sko-selo. After the sorrow of Paul was somewhat calmed, he found, in searching among the papers of his deceased consort, letters from Razumoffsky, which he carried in wrath to his mother, whom he conjured to avenge herself upon a man who had thus dared to violate her commands. The empress yielded in part to the instances of her son; but, unwilling to punish with too much severity the son of a man to whom she was in a great degree indebted for the crown, contented herself with banishing him to Venice, under the title of her envoy-extraordinary. The count hesitated not to accept a mission, the motives of which were but too apparent. After remaining at Venice some time, he was appointed minister at Naples, where he resided when Paul, travelling into Italy, passed through the place, when the count was forbidden, on pain of death, to appear before him.

About this period (1776), prince Henry of Prussia, commissioned by his brother to confer with the empress on the affairs of Poland, made a second visit to Petersburgh. In a conversation which took place between them, respecting the obstacles which still opposed themselves in Poland to the confederate powers, the prince, in reply to some objections raised by Catherine, thus expressed himself: 'Madam, there is one sure method of obviating every difficulty; a method which may perhaps, on the account of Poniatoffsky, be displeasing to you. Nevertheless you would do well to approve it, since a compensation may be offered to that monarch more valuable than a tottering throne: the remainder of Poland must be partitioned.' The ambition of Catherine was gratified by the idea, and the annihilation of Poland was determined.

The death of the grand-dutchess had left the empire without a successor to Paul, a matter of too much importance to be subject to the control of punctilio and form. The obsequies

of her daughter-in-law were scarcely performed, when Catherine employed her thoughts on the selection of a new consort for her son. She informed the prince of Prussia, that, for this purpose, she had cast her eyes on his niece, the princess of Wirtemburgh Stutgard. This lady was already betrothed to the hereditary prince of Hesse-Darmstadt; but her uncle, judging the alliance with Russia to be more advantageous, scrupled not to take measures for dissolving the contract.

Frederic entered with facility into the views of his brother, regardless of the attachment which subsisted between the young people: availing himself of his ascendency over the mind of the prince, he persuaded him that his duty and reputation combined to demand of him the sacrifice of his passion Every difficulty thus removed, the grand-duke was invited to pay a visit to Berlin, that he might judge in person of the qualifications of the lady.

Satisfied with these arrangements, Catherine made preparations, with her usual magnificence, for the departure of her son. Marshal Romantzoff was recalled on this occasion from his government in the Ukraine, and appointed to attend the duke to the court of Berlin: 'It is only,' said the empress, 'to the friendship of prince Henry, and to the most illustrious supporter of my throne, that I can consent to trust my son.'

It was to the close of summer when the duke, accompanied by prince Henry, quitted Pertersburgh: Catherine appeared much affected by their departure, and addressed to the travellers on their journey several letters. Paul received at Berlin the honours due to the heir of the Russian empire. He was presented by prince Henry to the king, who met them at the entrance of his apartment. At the conclusion of a speech studied for the occasion, the duke expressed his pleasure in having the opportunity of beholding 'the greatest of heroes, the admiration of the age, and the astonishment of posterity.' 'Instead of which,' interrupted the king, 'you see, my prince, a hoary-headed valetudinarian, who could never have wished for a superior happiness to that of welcoming within these walls the hopeful heir of a mighty empire, the only son of my best friend, the great Catherine.' The Prussian monarch then turning towards Romantzoff, welcomed politely the 'conqueror of the Ottomans.'

After half an hour's conversation with Frederic, the duke

was conducted to the presence of the queen and the assembled court, among the ladies of which he beheld the princess of Wirtemburg. Prince Henry having, in the name of the empress of Russia, demanded in form the hand of the princess, the marriage contract took place on the same day. An extraordinary court, attended by the foreign ministers and every person of distinction, followed, when the whole company supped with the queen in great magnificence, and dined with her on the ensuing day. Feasts, entertainments, and military spectacles, succeeded. The troops of Frederic, to the delight of marshal Romantzoff, performed in their manœuvres an imitation of the battle of Kayal, when a complete victory was gained by the Russians over the Ottomans. Prince Henry afterwards accompanied the grand-duke to Rheinsburg, where he entertained him four days with scenes of festivity equally elegant and splendid. After quitting Rheinsburg, Paul took leave of the royal family, and, laden with presents, returned to Petersburgh. Thither the princess soon followed him, and, having embraced the Greek religion with the usual formalities, adopted the name of Maria Feodorovna, and gave her hand to the duke. The marriage was celebrated with solemn pomp. Twenty years after, the imperial pair ascended together the throne of Russia.

Catherine having given to her son a second consort, extended the bounds of her empire, and extinguished the flames of rebellion, might at length be expected to repose in tranquillity; but quiet was little suited to her restless and enterprising temper. Sacrificing to distinction, and thirsting for fame, when her armies had ceased to astonish Europe with their conquests, she aspired to other triumphs. Her brilliant acts of munificence, her encouragement of the sciences and arts, her liberalities to foreigners, and her numerous internal institutions, were re-echoed from court to court, and celebrated in every nation. The civilization and improvement of Russia, regenerated by Peter the Great, made rapid advances during the reign of Catherine: by legislation and the erection of schools she completed the plans of her great predecessor, and carried them to an extent upon principles, and in a period so near his own, which it was not possible for him to conceive. Directed

by her hand, the mass of knowledge, which had been confined to Petersburgh and kept for ostentation rather than for use, distributed in a thousand channels, pervaded the whole empire, fructifying the soil through which it flowed. According to an imperfect survey, in thirty-one places of education 6800 children of both sexes were trained up at the expense of government. The sums appropriated to this purpose are said to amount to 754,335 rubles per annum. But to return to the affairs of the court.

Orloff, who had, without being recalled, come back to Petersburgh, became habituated to the pre-eminence of Potemkin, who occupied the place nearest the throne. Proud of his influence and insatiable of power, the latter left to Zavadoffsky the quiet possession of the affections of Catherine. For a-year and a half this subaltern favourite appeared content with his fortune; but ambition at length divided his heart. Fired by the example of Potemkin, like him he aspired to pass from the cabinet of the empress to the post of first minister. But for this purpose it was necessary not merely to possess the talents, but to supplant the object of his envy, a project in which he engaged with greater ardor than skill. He began his operations by an attempt to render the despotism of his rival odious to to the sovereign, in which design he obtained the concurrence of envious courtiers, discontented officers, and artful women. Potemkin, informed of these intrigues, and conscious of his superior powers, resolved to crush at a blow a competitor whom he despised. An opportunity for effecting this design soon presented itself.

Zoritch, a young Servian, an officer of the hussars, possessed the qualities calculated to attract the notice of the empress: Potemkin gave him a captain's commission, and threw him in her way; the scheme failed not to prove successful with the voluptuous and inconstant Catherine: Zavadoffsky, who, like Phaeton, owed to his ambition his fall, was presently dismissed, and Zoritch promoted to his place. Zavadoffsky, however, departed not without the usual marks of the bounty of his mistress. The new favourite, uneducated and inexperienced, could give no umbrage to the haughty minister; content with his advantages in the favour of Catherine, he used his influence but in the service of his benefactor. It was with

Potemkin only that the empress balanced the concerns of Europe.

An account of the relation between Russia and Denmark, the arrogant conduct of the Russian ministers at Copenhagen, the pretensions of Catherine, and the politic conduct of Bernstoff, the Danish minister, by which they were defeated, would extend this article to an unreasonable length, and perhaps be foreign to the present purpose.

The revolution which took place about this period (1776) in Sweden, and which diminished the influence of Petersburgh, gave great umbrage to Catherine. Her agents were ordered to restore the government overturned by Gustavus, but their efforts to this purpose proved ineffectual. Some explanations having terminated with harshness, Russia fitted out at Cronstadt a fleet of galleys, which excited at Stockholm great alarm. Gustavus demanded in vain the cause of these preparations; no satisfactory answer was to be obtained: disquieted by appearances so hostile, he determined personally to confer with the empress respecting the measures she meant to adopt.

On the 16th of June, 1777, the king of Sweden arrived at Petersburgh, under the title of count of Gothland, accompanied by several of his courtiers. The Swedish minister only had been apprised of his intention: Gustavus alighted at his hotel, and presently afterwards visited count Panin. Towards evening, he proceed to Tzar-sko-selo, where he had an interview with the empress: expressions equally cordial and equally sincere were, on this occasion, lavished on both sides. Catherine, to impress the Swedish monarch with her magnificence, entertained him sumptuously, while with her usual penetration, she studied his character, of which presumption appeared to her the prominent feature.

By qualities more brilliant than solid, by his popular manners, and by the pleasures which he provided for his people, he had conciliated their affections. A reputation resting on a basis thus precarious, a moment's imprudence might overthrow; the purposes of Catherine were to accelerate that moment, by prompting him to embark in some hazardous enterprise.

With this view, she talked to him of the impediments experienced by sovereigns in their attempts to advance the civilization of their subjects; the difficulty with which changes

were effected, even in things apparently insignificant and unimportant; while mankind, the slaves of habit, obstinate in error, and averse to change, behold with distrust every innovation. She illustrated these observations, just in themselves, by the example of Peter the Great, and the resistance opposed to him by the Russians, when he wanted them to part with their beards. These artful insinuations roused, as was foreseen, the vanity of the Swedish monarch, who contended warmly that such failures originated with the sovereign rather than with the people; that men sacrificed willingly their habits to their fortunes; and that the king who made himself beloved would triumph without difficulty over obstacles like these. To this he added, that, on all occasions, there was a fitness of times and seasons, which must be skilfully chosen; and also a *manner* of executing a design that required qualities to which Peter the Great was a stranger. Catherine, in reply, supported her arguments with additional proofs, till the pride of Gustavus was irritated to prove by facts the verity of his assertions. The challenge being provoked and given, the monarch undertook to induce the Swedes to adopt a new mode of dress.

After his return to Stockholm, Gustavus, in consequence of this debate, introduced the theatrical dress still worn by the Swedish court. Without enforcing this change as a law, he contented himself with directing the governors of the provinces to recommend it as a fashion by gentleness and persuasion. He pretended that this fantastic habit of his own invention was similar to that worn by the ancient Swedes: he proposed it only to the courtiers, the military, and the superior classes of the people; the lower ranks, with a view of piquing their pride, were not even invited to adopt it; nevertheless, they insensibly and gradually advanced towards the reigning mode. The visit of Gustavus to Petersburgh had not augmented his esteem for the empress, while her desire of humbling a young and turbulent rival became strengthened and confirmed. The Swedish monarch had, notwithstanding this mutual distrust, received on his departure fresh tokens of the magnificent spirit of Catherine.

In the autumn of 1777, Petersburgh was visited with a dreadful calamity: an inundation, to which the city was at times liable, produced the most terrible and destructive effects.

Some new disputes and hostilities which had arisen between Russia and the Porte, were (in 1778) terminated by the interposition of the French ambassador at Constantinople, through whose mediation a treaty was signed in the ensuing spring. The zeal of the French minister on this occasion originated in the desire of the court of Versailles to deprive England of the support of Russia; an attempt that proved in some measure successful. The alliance between the courts of London and Petersburgh, if not broken, was greatly weakened: the French assured themselves, that a power indebted to them for its peace, would not lightly take up arms against them. Catherine testified her satisfaction with the treaty, which favoured her ambition, and extensive commercial projects, by magnificent presents to her own minister at Constantinople, and to that of France. The grand-seignior, the favourite sultana, and the principal members of the divan, experienced on the same occasion proofs of the munificence of the empress. Proud of her victories, and elate with her advantages, jealousy of the superiority claimed by the British flag had contributed to detach the czarina from Great Britain, whose trade she was nevertheless anxious to retain; but, while refusing assistance to the English she was lavish to them of civilities, inviting them, on the loss of their colonies, to fetch from her ports the commodities they could no longer obtain from America: she saw, with pleasure, from year to year, their vessels become more numerous in the port of Archangel. The American ships received from her the same encouragement, while, in despite of the British minister, she granted to them the free navigation of the Baltic. A treaty had also, a few years before, been concluded with Versailles, which admitted the establishment of a French factory at Archangel.

The anniversary of the accession of the empress to the throne, and the birth-day of the grand-duke, were this year (July the 9th, 1779) celebrated with extraordinary splendor. The several festivals of the orders of chivalry were not less distinguished by pomp and magnificence. Catherine consented to discharge the functions of sovereign of the order of the Bath, by conferring its badges on Sir James Harris,* to whom

* Lord Malmesbury.

they had been sent by the British monarch. Having struck him on the shoulder with a sword richly set with diamonds, and, in conformity to the statutes of the order, exhorted him 'in the name of God, to be a good and loyal knight,' she presented to him the sword, with the following address: 'To testify my satisfaction with you, I present to you the sword with which I have stamped you with the order of knighthood.' A few days previous to this ceremony, a grand entertainment was given to commemorate the conflagration of the Turkish fleet, with a superb masquerade and supper in the summer gardens.

The riches and splendor of the court of Petersburgh, during the reign of Catherine, combined with the profusion of Asiatic pomp the refinements and taste of European luxury. On court days, and more peculiarly on festivals, the company which surrounded the empress were resplendent with jewels; men and women appeared to vie with each other in the sumptuousness of their ornaments, and the prodigality of their riches: the people of fashion were covered with diamonds, with a profusion unexampled in the courts of Europe. This passion for precious stones descended even to private individuals: the wife of a Russian burgher would sometimes ruin her husband for a girdle of pearls or a head-dress of jewels.

On days of ceremony the empress dined in public, on which occasion she usually wore a diamond crown of immense value; the ribands of St. Andrew and of St. George, both over one shoulder, with the collars of St. Alexander Nefsky, St. Catherine, and St. Vladimir; also two stars on her breast, the one above the other, as grand master of the two first-mentioned orders. The courtiers, who follow the example of their sovereign, emulated this brilliant exhibition. There are five orders of chivalry in Russia: St. Andrew, St. Catherine, St. Alexander Nefsky, and St. Vladimir; to those may be added, the order of St. Anne of Holstein, conferred only by the grand-duke, as duke of Holstein. The order of St. Catherine was instituted in 1714, in memory of the assistance received by Peter the Great from his consort in the camp at Pruth. This order is appropriated to the ladies, who wear, as its badges, a narrow red riband, edged with silver, to which the figure of the saint, set with diamonds, is suspended; on the left breast

is worn a silver star of eight points, with the inscription, "*Amore et fidelitate.*" In 1790 their number was twenty-five.

The two orders of St. George and St. Vladimir were founded by Catherine II. The former, a military order, in 1769; it is divided into four classes: its badges are a black riband, with a George and Dragon. Its holiday is the 26th of November. A specific number of each class enjoy pensions of 100 to 700 rubles. The order of St. Vladimir was instituted September 22d, 1782, the twentieth coronation-day of the empress. The badges, an eight-pointed star of gold and silver, having a red area, bearing a cross, with the Russian letters, C. P. K. B. i. e. the holy apostle-like prince Vladimir. Round it the words, in Russ, "Utility, Honour, and Fame:" with a riband of two black and one red stripes. Beside these, were ladies of the Portrait, who wore the miniature of the empress, set with diamonds.

During the winter, masquerades were given by Catherine at the palace, to which persons of all ranks might be admitted. Twenty magnificent halls, splendidly illuminated, afforded ample room for the company. In the midst of one of these spacious apartments, an enclosure, more adorned than the rest, appropriated to the nobility and the courtiers, was made by a low balustrade. The Apollo, an elegant room of an oval form, received those burghers who had not been presented at court; card-tables, with tea and refreshments, were placed in another apartment, in which the company were served without ceremony or distinction. Every person had liberty to keep his mask or to lay it aside, as best pleased him. The nobility universally wore dominos. The inferior classes of Russians appeared at these balls in the usual dresses of their respective provinces, somewhat more decorated. The various and singular habits produced an amazing and diversified effect. The empress usually came to the rooms at seven, and retired at eleven, in the evening.

Catherine, who, about this period, had reason to expect a new rupture with the Turks, was desirous of animating by her presence the zeal of her mariners. With this view she embarked in a yacht at Peterhoff, and visited the squadron cruising between Cronstadt and Krasna-gorca.

A great part of the city of Iver having been consume

by fire, the empress granted to the relief of the inhabitants 100,000 rubles.

Petersburgh also experienced at this time a disaster, which the bounty of its sovereign was unable to repair. One of the farmers of the brandy duties, who had made an immense fortune by his contract, proposed to give to the inhabitants of the city a feast in testimony of his gratitude. The victuals, beer, and brandy served on the occasion cost 20,000 rubles. The populace flocked in crowds to partake of this repast, when in despite of precautions, a contention respecting pre-eminence arose among them. From struggles and noise they proceeded to blows; several persons were killed, while others, who in a state of intoxication fell asleep in the streets, perished by the severity of the frost. Five hundred persons were computed to have lost their lives on this occasion.

Catherine, amidst political and military cares, found leisure for liberal acquirements and the arts of peace. She employed herself with her pen, not merely in framing laws for her people, but in contributing to their recreation and improvement. She had a facility in arranging her thoughts upon paper; an employment in which she took delight. She attacked fanaticism, enthusiasm, and superstition, in comedies, with which, mingling reflection with satire, she enlightened the minds of the people.

In her private attachments she appears to have been true to the sentiment of love, rather than to the object: Zoritch, after filling his station of favourite for a twelvemonth, was suddenly dismissed. Hastening to his protector, Potemkin, who, little jealous of his fortune, had given him his support lest a more dangerous rival should be promoted to his place, he complained of the reverse he had experienced. Potemkin presumed to inquire of the empress for what cause she had discarded her humble friend: 'I loved him yesterday,' replied she, 'but today I love him no longer. Perhaps if he were better informed I might regard him still; but his ignorance puts me to the blush. He can speak no other than the Russ language: let him travel into France and England and learn other tongues.' Potemkin acquiesced in the caprice of the sovereign, and Zoritch set out on his travels.

Potemkin, who was busy in looking out for a successor to the favourite, beheld with astonishment the same evening, at

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the hermitage, a chamberlain of whom he had not the least knowledge behind the chair of Catherine. From the humble rank of a serjeant in the guards, Rimsky Korzakoff was suddenly raised to that of aid-de-camp general to the empress, in which he received the usual testimonies of her munificence. A fine stature and a handsome figure were the recommendations of Rimsky, nor had Potemkin any thing to apprehend from his talents or attainments, of which the following anecdote may afford a proof.

Having obtained the post of favourite, Rimsky believed that, among other arrangements necessary to his new dignity, it would be proper to provide himself with a library. A principal bookseller of Petersburgh was accordingly sent for, and informed of the business on which he was summoned. 'What books,' inquired the bookseller, of the favourite, 'would you please to have?' 'That is your business,' returned he; 'you understand that matter better than I do. You know the proper assortments, which I have destined a large room to receive. Let there be large books at the bottom, and smaller and smaller up to the top, in the manner in which they are placed in the library of the empress.' 'How did you contrive to find a sufficient quantity of large books for the purpose, since folios are out of fashion?' said a person, who had heard this anecdote, to the bookseller. 'Oh! I went to my warehouse, and drew out old German commentators on the bible, and writers on jurisprudence, where they had lain in quires since they were sent to my predecessor for a bad debt. I took care to put them in new coats. In conspicuous parts of the library I have placed a set of Voltaire, of Rousseau, of Buffon, for the inquisitive visitor; and as for the rest, their shewy outsides, as is common in the world, must be a passport for any deficiency within.'

Military preparations were made by Russia, during this year, against Austria, whose minister at Constantinople had irritated Catherine by some successless efforts to involve her anew in hostilities with the Porte. The cloud, however, passed over without bursting. Vienna, occupied in a contest with the Prussian monarch respecting the affairs of the Germanic empire, deprecated the wrath of the empress, which it dared not to provoke, by inviting her, in concert with the court of France,

to be the mediatrix between Austria and Prussia. Catherine accepted the office allotted to her, and converted the general whom she had destined as the instrument of her vengeance into a minister of peace: the treaty was conducted upon equitable principles, and a war, which had threatened the most important consequences, early and happily terminated.

But while in the north of Europe all was tranquil, the most terrible convulsions agitated the south. England, Holland, France, and Spain, tinged with blood the seas of the two hemispheres, in deciding the fate of the American colonies. The commerce of the north was benefited by the contest: Catherine wisely availed herself of the occasion for extending and improving the trade of her empire. To increase its activity, she had abolished the extraordinary duties on corn, the exportation of which was permitted from Archangel to Riga. Her pride was hurt by the English, who paid no respect to the vessels freighted in her ports, and even sometimes stopped those which sailed under her flag. To this motive was added another, that determined her to protect the navigation of the north; a measure to which she was implored by the merchants of Hamburg, of Bremen, and of Lubeck. Vergennes, the French minister, had formed a project worthy of a great statesman, the plan of the Armed Neutrality, in which he successfully engaged almost every potentate of Europe, and which he found means to render acceptable to Catherine. Resolved to employ her force for the protection of her ships, she proposed to the courts of Copenhagen and Stockholm to equip each of them a squadron, which, combined with hers, should defend the neutrality. This confederacy was to be wholly maritime, and confined to the protection of commerce. Prussia, Austria, and Portugal, coucurring in the measure, the sovereignty of the seas, so long maintained by England, appeared to be endangered.

The British minister at Petersburgh had left no means unessayed to dissolve the league, and induce the empress to abandon her purpose, when his efforts were frustrated by a singular stratagem. A long memorial against the project was given by the minister to Potemkin, whose interest he had secured, and who had promised to recommend his paper to the

† Sir James Harris.

empress. The partizans of the neutrality became informed of this circumstance, and, by means of a girl in the suit of Potemkin's nieces and in habits of familiarity with the uncle, contrived to possess themselves of the memorial, which they enriched with marginal notes, calculated to overthrow the arguments of the British minister. Thus embellished, the writing was, with no less success, returned to the place whence it was taken.

The empress, on perusing the paper, attributed the notes to Potemkin, and became confirmed in her predilection for the neutral powers. Sir James Harris, informed of the methods practised against him, sickened with mortification and disappointment.

The favour of Potemkin had reached its summit, his honours and his riches appeared daily to accumulate. The court and the army alike did homage to his power; ministers, generals, and favourites, were appointed or removed at his pleasure: under a rude exterior, he concealed a subtle spirit; while, domineering over the empress, he appeared to exist but for her service: those whom he could affront with impunity, however respectable their names and office, were sure of being insulted, while he fawned on others whose spirit or intrigues he had reason to apprehend. Marshal Romantzoff only, of all the generals, refused to bend to the favourite, who dreaded the inflexibility of the conqueror of the Turks in the same proportion as he envied his glory. This aversion he extended to the sister of the general, countess Bruce, with whom Catherine lived in friendship and confidence. Chance threw in the way of Potemkin the occasion he sought of destroying this lady's interest at court.

Rimsky, the subordinate favourite of the empress, made up of frivolity and ostentation, attracted the attention of the countess: Potemkin flattered her predilection, and kindly favoured her interviews with the minion, whom he hesitated not to involve in the disgrace which he was preparing for the sister of Romantzoff.

The plan was successful; Catherine discovered the perfidy of her favourite and her friend; the former was sentenced to travel, and the latter exiled to Moscow. From that period the empress made no more confidants: with a favourite she found

it less convenient to dispense: the same day her choice was made; Lanskoï, one of the chevalier guards, a fine and interesting figure, was selected to occupy the vacant post. This youth, who was of all the lovers of Catherine the most tenderly regarded, appears to have best merited the affections he inspired.

The mind of Potemkin was not wholly occupied by court intrigues; led by ambition, he aspired to the honour of causing his sovereign to be crowned at Constantinople; a project which could not fail to meet with her approbation. Panin, who opposed in council a plan so replete with danger, found himself over-ruled by Potemkin: grieved at this opposition, he fell sick and retired from business, while count Osterman, who filled the place of vice-chancellor, performed the duties of his office.

The plans which now occupied the thoughts of Catherine rendered a conference necessary with the emperor Joseph II. whom she requested to join her in Poland. The empress, during her frequent journeys, never entrusted to her son either the government of Petersburgh, or the administration of affairs: though by birth generalissimo of the Russian armies, he never led a regiment to battle! though grand-admiral of the Baltic, he was never permitted to visit the fleet. Panin, accustomed to represent the sovereign when absent, had retired from court; worn by care, and oppressed by chagrin, he tottered on the verge of the grave. Field-marshal Alexander Gallitzin was therefore, on the present occasion, appointed governor of the residence.

Catherine reached Mohilef, May 30th, 1780, whither the emperor Joseph had arrived before her. The pomp by which she was surrounded, with the luxury of the Polish grandees, formed a striking contrast with the simplicity affected by the emperor. Joseph, who travelled under the title of the Count Von Falkenstein, entreated the empress to spare him the necessity of ceremony and vain etiquette, a request which was cheerfully granted. After several private conferences, it was agreed that they should attack the Ottomans in concert, share between them the spoils, and re-establish the ancient republics of Greece. To determine the emperor to her views, Catherine consented to patronise the barter of Bavaria for the

Austrian Netherlands, excepting the counties of Namur and Luxemburg: also to support him against Prussia, and the princes of the empire. These stipulations were, by a treaty at Petersburgh, shortly after confirmed and settled. Joseph was invited by his imperial ally to visit Russia: fond of travelling, and eager to acquire knowledge, he took the route of Moscow, while the empress returned directly to Petersburgh.

Previous to their separation, Catherine offered to her visitor a suit of splendid apartments in the palace. The emperor, whose aversion to the formality of courts formed a distinguished trait in his character, declined the compliment, adding, that unless her majesty would allow him to fix his quarters at an inn, however desirous he might feel of prolonging his visit, he must deny himself the satisfaction he had anticipated. The empress, in compliance with the whimsical singularity of her guest, gave orders to the English gardener, on her return to Tzar-sko-selo, to convert his house into an inn by hanging out a sign, and to provide accommodations for the royal traveller. A Catherine-wheel was accordingly painted on a board, below which was written, in German characters, "The Falkenstein arms." Here the fictitious count Falkenstein put up on his arrival, and was perfectly satisfied with the behaviour of his host. Several comic adventures occurred during the emperor's stay, from the singularity of his situation.

Catherine, in despite of the repugnance manifested by her guest, forebore not to display to him the magnificence of her court; but these entertainments appeared to have no attractions for the emperor, who philosophically preferred useful establishments, and curious monuments of art. At Moscow he had seen the Kremlin, the Khitaigorod,* the monasteries, the library, the archives of the history of the north, reduced to admirable order by Muller, the learned professor. At Tula the hardware manufactory, on which Catherine had spared no expense, attracted his attention. At Petersburgh he sought for all that was curious, or worthy observation. At Cronstadt he examined the arsenals, the dock-yards, and the various manufactories. He received every where flattering marks of the empress's attention. On entering the academy of sciences, he

* The Khitaigorod, or Chinese town, in which is carried on a trade in furs, and other merchandise.

was presented with a volume of geographical maps, among which was already engraven that of his journey from Vienna to Petersburgh. At the academy of arts a collection of engravings was laid before him, in which was his own portrait, with the following inscription from Horace:

> Multorum providus urbes
> Et mores hominum inspexit.

Joseph at length took leave of Russia, not less astonished at the mixture of refinement and barbarism which it presented, than at the various character of its sovereign. The hereditary prince of Prussia soon after made a visit to Petersburgh.

Catherine determined that the grand-duke should, in imitation of these princes, visit foreign countries. Paul and his dutchess, in consequence of this resolution, travelled to Italy, through Poland and Austria, whence they returned by the way of France and Holland. Every day during their tour, which lasted fourteen months, a courier was dispatched to inform the empress of their situation and employments. The ducal pair, equally desirous of knowing what was passing at Petersburgh, found their curiosity more difficult to gratify. The chamberlain, Bibikoff, who, disregarding the will of the sovereign, presumed to address letters, containing exact intelligence, to a gentleman in the train of Paul, suffered for his temerity. The letters were intercepted at Riga, and the writer condemned to expiate his rashness in the deserts of Siberia.

Various circumstances combined to disturb the tranquillity which had for some time subsisted between Russia and the Porte. The navigation of the Euxine, the opening of the gates of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus, for the admission of a free intercourse from the White sea to the Euxine, the affairs of the Krimea, with those of the Greek dependent provinces, afforded grounds for dispute which seemed to render a war inevitable.

The Ottomans, thinned by pestilence, enfeebled and oppressed, exasperated by the triumphs and advantages of their adversary, split into divisions, and torn by factions, prepared vigorously for hostilities, which their situation appeared but ill calculated to sustain. Russia, content with its successes, with the benefits of the late treaty, afraid of the plague, and

conscious, amidst its splendor, of some internal weaknesses, showed less ardour for war, and seemed willing to accept a mediation by which its dignity might be preserved. France availed herself of this situation; the French minister became again the successful negotiator, and received once more the reward of his services.

This arrangement, in which mutual concessions had been made, gave time to the Porte to settle its affairs; while to Russia it afforded leisure for the object of its constant ambition, an interference with the politics of Europe. The armed neutrality continued to display its flag on the northern seas; the coasts of the Mediterranean were visited by the Russian squadrons; and commerce protected in every quarter. Catherine, in the spirit of her predecessor Peter the Great, directed her attention to the improvement of the marine. Ship-builders and seamen were procured from England for the purpose of improving the unskilful Russians. Europe had beheld with surprise the Russian eagle in the Archipelago, and the Ottoman fleet annihilated by a squadron from the north.

The empress at length completed the division of her provinces, all of which participated in the benefit of her regulations: salutary institutions and fresh conquests marked every successive year of her reign.

That she had distinguished herself as an author has been before intimated. "Miscellaneous Pieces, or the Library of the Grand-dukes," the most interesting production of her pen, was written for the benefit of her grand-children, and contained instruction blended with pleasantry, national history enlivened by the description of manners. It is worthy of admiration to behold a great sovereign relaxing from affairs of state in attention to the education and improvement of her successors. The "Tale of Tzarrevitch Chlor," is at once calculated to delight the child and gratify the more mature understanding. Catherine was respectable in the circle of her family; mingling tenderness with severity, she cultivated the affections and the talents of her grandsons: she conversed with the tutor in their presence, and, in their absence, wrote marginal remarks on their lessons, sometimes addressed to the pupil, and sometimes to the preceptor; of which the following instance may afford a specimen. The subject of the morning lecture had

been the nature of the government in Switzerland, on which the tutor had displayed his usual liberality of sentiment. The ensuing day, on returning to their studies, they found, in the hand-writing of the empress, the following sentence at the bottom of the exercise: "*Monsieur l'Harpe, continuez vos leçons de cette sorte; vos sentimens me plaisent beaucoup.*"

This year, 1782, was marked by the inauguration of the famous statue of Peter I.; a work executed by the genius of Falconet, invited to Petersburgh from Paris for the occasion. The design conceived by the artist was sublime and grand, but of difficult execution: to indicate to posterity the obstacles surmounted by the heroic legislator, he wished to substitute for the pedestal of the statue a huge and rugged rock. The idea could scarcely fail of approbation; it remained only to find a mass of stone which in form and bulk might be suited to realise it. Chance favoured the undertaking. Near a village in Karelia, a rock was found corresponding with the conception of the artist: its height, taken from the horizontal line, twenty-one feet by forty-two in length, and thirty-four in breadth. The difficulty of removing this enormous mass was, in the reign of Catherine, no obstacle; a project for the purpose, worthy of ancient Rome, was presently formed. In removing the ground to discover the foundation of the rock, which it was expected to find deep sunk in the earth, the workmen were not less surprised than pleased to find the stone absolutely detached, and lying on the ground as if prepared for their purpose. To this discovery another succeeded equally singular: neither stone, gravel, nor sand, nor any substance analogous to the mass, or adapted to form its constituent parts, was to be found in its neighbourhood. The interior of the rock afforded a new phenomenon: on one side it had been damaged by a stroke of thunder; on knocking off the shattered fragments, instead of homogenous particles, a collection of precious stones appeared: chrystals, agates, granites, topazes, cornelians, amethysts, presented to the curious a magnificent spectacle, and to the naturalist an object of interesting inquiry. Thousands of these, and other parts of the mass, being cut and polished into rings, bracelets, snuff-boxes, and other ornaments, found through the empire a rapid sale. So many circumstances, combined by nature, afforded powerful motives for transport-

ing from its place a production thus wonderful, for a monument worthy to perpetuate the memory of a hero. The mechanism for its conveyance was invented by count Carburg: a solid road was made from the rock to the shore; under the stone were inserted brass slips, to go upon cannon balls of five inches diameter in metal grooves, by windlasses worked by four hundred men, every day two hundred fathom towards the shore. The water transport was performed by camels (so called in the dock-yards of Petersburgh and Amsterdam), by which ships of war are lifted over shallows, or bars of sand. The distance of the shore from the spot chosen for the monument was eleven versts, or 41,250 English feet. The rock had, on its way, to pass heights, morasses, swamps, and rivers, and, falling down the Neva, to be disembarked and drawn by land to the place of its destination. The weight of the mass, geometrically calculated, amounted to three millions two hundred thousand pounds. The largest known obelisk, that which Constantius son of Constantine the Great caused to be conveyed from Alexandria to Rome, weighed not a third part of the rock of Petersburgh.

Such is the pedestal of the equestrian statue of the Russian legislator: the statue is in itself a master-piece of art. The hero, the features of whose countenance are admirably expressed, appears on horseback, in the act of ascending a steep rock, the summit of which he labours to attain. Dressed in an Asiatic robe and crowned with laurels, he extends his right arm with dignity; in his left he holds the bridle of his horse, whose beautiful figure and elegant attitude captivate the beholder. He stands on his hinder feet, in the posture of a fiery courser straining to attain the summit of the rock. The artist, by an ingenious device, combines strength with beauty: the brazen serpent, upon which the horse tramples, emblematical of the obstacles opposed to the monarch, serves also to give an equipoise to the statue; the point of bearing, the full and flowing tail of the courser, gently falling on the serpent writhing with pain, is by this means unperceived. The model of the head of Peter, a performance of singular excellence, in which the artist disclaimed all merit, was the production of a lady, mademoiselle Collot, afterwards married to Peter Falconet,

the son of the artist. The whole was grounded on piles closely driven. On the side towards the admiralty, in letters of cast metal, is the following inscription: PETRV PERVOMU EKATERINA VTORAIA. 1782. On the side next the senate, in Latin: PETRO PRIMO CATHERINA SECVNDA.

On the 7th of August, the day on which the monument was disclosed to the public, the empress, appeared in the balcony of the senate-house, and solemnized the event by the distribution of medals in gold and silver; also, by an ukause, or grace, which put an end to every process of more than ten years standing, discharged all debtors who had been five years in confinement, and remitted all debts due to the crown below the sum of 500 rubles. The expense of the whole undertaking amounted to 404,610 rubles. Mademoiselle Collot, in consequence of the reputation she acquired on this occasion, gained by her industry, during her stay in Russia, a competency of 50,000 rubles: she was engaged to make a bust of the empress in marble, and employed by the nobility in similar designs.

The treaty of pacification, so lately concluded between Russia and the Ottomans, promised no long duration: perpetual subjects of dispute occurred, which the pestilence, that through the summer and autumn of 1782 ravaged the frontier countries, had hitherto restrained from breaking out into hostilities. The Porte had the mortification to perceive, in the pride and impatience of its powerful neighbour, but little disposition for tedious negotiation: its remonstrances were accompanied by every preparation for enforcing their effect.

The emperor of Germany now, plucking off the mask, avowed his design of supporting with his own the claims of Russia, while the engagements of the two empires were declared to be reciprocal. Towards the close of the year, two strong memorials were presented from the united courts, when their armies appeared on the frontiers of Turkey. The Porte, however desperate its situation, having no part to chuse, contented itself with preserving an appearance of dignity. Russia had experienced from her late conquests a rapid increase of her commerce; her vessels passed the Dardanelles, proceeded to Aleppo and Smyrna, and traded in the ports of Italy. The foundation of the city of Kerson, on the shores of the Dniepr, was laid by Catherine, and the work accelerated by the activity

of Potemkin. Kerson already counted within its walls 40,000 inhabitants, while from its yards were launched vessels of commerce and ships of war, destined to strike terror into the Ottoman empire. The empress and Potemkin felt with these advantages their ardour rekindle: they desired with equal fervor the conquest of a country so long the object of their ambitious projects. It was resolved to begin their operations by detaching the Krimea from Turkey: The fertility of the country is disputable, but it promised, in a resource to the armies and in its commercial advantages, benefits less equivocal.

Reinforcements were sent to the armies in Poland and the Ukraine, while every thing announced a speedy declaration of war. The Russian minister at Constantinople had orders to extend his demands, and to extort from the divan a promise not to interfere in the fate of the Krimea. The divan, feeble and disunited, yet incensed at these pretensions, murmured instead of flying to arms. Pretences for injustice are seldom wanted by powerful states: an insurrection was by the emissaries of Russia stirred up in the Krimea, while the troops of Catherine, under pretence of assisting the Khan, found means to possess themselves of the country. In justification of an invasion, in which every law of nations and every principle of honour were alike violated, a manifesto was published, in which the Turks were accused of having broken the treaty of Kaïnardgi.

The pacific disposition of the Porte proved of little avail in producing an accommodation with its ambitious adversaries: their demands were so exorbitant, that it became a question with the prudent whether it were not better to put every thing to hazard. All sides prepared for decisive hostilities, and the preparations of each were immense.

The year 1783 exhibited an apparatus of war, in the northern and eastern borders of Europe, unprecedented even in those martial regions. The Danube groaned under the weight of artillery and stores, which the emperor forwarded to the frontiers from his hereditary states. The Russian forces advanced at the same time through different parts of Poland, and through the countries from the Don to the Dniepr, to the scene of action. The armies of the Porte, which had drawn into Europe great bodies of Asiatic troops, already exceeded 150,000 men.

A number of European officers, particularly from France, among whom were several engineers, had been attracted into their service. The janisaries and soldiers showed on this occasion a singular docility: misfortune, joined with the example of their rulers, appeared to have softened their prejudices, and changed their character.

The manifesto published by Catherine in justification of her conduct in the Krimea, was answered by the Porte in a masterly style. The English minister* is said to have lent his pen on this occasion: the perfidy and injustice of the court of Petersburgh it was by no means difficult to prove. But of what avail is truth in the causes of sovereigns, which can be pleaded effectually only by the sword?

Apprehensive lest the king of Sweden should take advantage of the absence of her enemies, Catherine endeavoured to form with Gustavus a new treaty of alliance, and, on the failure of a ministerial negotiation, resolved on a second interview with the Swedish monarch. Frederiksham, a frontier town, being appointed for the meeting, the empress repaired in a yacht to the place of randezvous. Among the ladies who attended her was the princess Dashkoff, who had for some time past apparently regained her friendship and confidence. Two contiguous houses, furnished with great elegance, and a gallery of communication constructed between them, had been previously hired. One of these was occupied by Catherine, the other served as quarters for Gustavus, during the four days they remained at Frederiksham.

Peace having been signed some months before, there appeared no longer any reason for keeping in arms the neutrality of the north; a position to which the king of Sweden assented. A neutrality during the war with the Turks was also proposed to him, while he was assured that, after its termination, he should be assisted by Russia in gaining possession of Norway. Flattered by this idea, Gustavus complied with all that Catherine demanded: they parted mutually satisfied, their minds occupied with different projects of conquest. The empress, on their separation, displayed her munificence in presents to the Swedish officers: Gustavus emulated this example, the favour-

* Sir Robert Ainslie.

ite Lanskoï was decorated by him with the order of the polar star, and a diploma presented to the princess Dashkoff, as member of the academy at Stockholm.

The Porte beheld with anxiety the preparations of the enemy, which seemed to assure them of victory. Seventy thousand men, under the command of Potemkin, were assembled on the frontiers of the Krimea: forty thousand, at the head of whom was prince Repnin, were in readiness to back them: marshal Romantzoff, with a third army, held his quarters at Kief. The squadrons of the Euxine were armed, while ten sail of the line, with several frigates, waited the signal for proceeding to the Mediterranean.

The court of London tried in vain to rouse the divan to arms, which France and Austria, with more success, laboured to prevent. Nogotiation was, as a safer mode, preferred by the Porte. By a new treaty, signed at Constantinople, the empress retained the sovereignty of the Krimea, of the isle of Taman, and a great part of the Kuban, while her right was acknowledged to the dominion of the Euxine, and to the passage of the Dardanelles. Catherine thus acquired, without the necessity of a battle, an immense territory, with 1,500,000 new subjects. She restored to the Krimea and to the Kuban their ancient names of Taurida and Caucasus. The example of the khan of the Krimea deterred not other princess from accepting the perfidious protection of Russia, whose presents dazzled their eyes.

While extending the dominions of his sovereign, Potemkin neglected not his personal interests. Estates and honours were lavished upon him. The surname of Tavritschesky* was conferred upon him by the empress, who, with the rank of grand-admiral of the Euxine, gave him the government of Taurida, and built for him the magnificent palace in Petersburgh, which bears the name of Tavritschesky.

Count Nikita Ivanovitch Panin, and prince Gregory Orloff, died about this period; the one at Moscow, the other at Petersburgh. Panin died of chagrin, a malady to which discarded ministers are liable. Orloff, though in possession of numberless benefits heaped on him by Catherine, and the husband of a young and beautiful wife, found the presence of

* The Taurian.

the new favourite insupportable. He had passed in travelling the latter years of his life. In 1782 he lost his wife at Lausanne, and on her death sunk into deep melancholy. On his return to court, he presented to his friends a sad spectacle of insanity: at one moment he gave himself up to an extravagant gaiety; the next, bursting into reproaches against the empress, he struck horror into those who heard him, and filled Catherine with terror and grief. Having at length retired to Moscow, remorse revived with tenfold force: the bleeding shade of the murdered Peter incessantly haunted his imagination, and pursued him in every retreat: night and day, in his distracted fancy, it appeared to aim at him an avenging dart. Death at last relieved him; he expired in the agonies of frenzy and despair.

In the former periods of his favour he had received from the empress a medallion surrounded with brilliants, on which was her portrait, which he constantly wore. After his death, the miniature was presented to Catherine, who returned it to Alexy Orloff, the brother of the deceased, and the actual murderer of Peter III. An affecting present!*

About 1780 it happened that, after presenting some gentlemen at court, the English minister and his countryman were favoured by a conversation with the empress. Prince Bara-

* The sequel to the revolution of 1762 was performed in 1797, after the death of the empress, when Alexy Orloff resided at Moscow. The emperor Paul, on coming to the crown, caused the corpse of his father Peter III., interred in the church of St. Alexander Nefsky, to be taken up and brought to the palace, to receive there similar honours with that of the empress his wife. In the printed ceremonial, prince Baratinsky† and count Alexy Orloff were ordered to officiate as chief mourners. The ceremony of coronation having been omitted by Peter during his life, the imperial crown was placed on his coffin, as it lay beside that of his consort. Over both was a kind of true-love knot, with the following inscription in Russ: "Divided in life, united in death." The chief mourners took their station in presence of the assembled court; amidst sable hangings, lighted tapers, and all the solemnity of imperial woe. The strong nerves of Orloff endured the scene, unshaken: his companion, with a heart less inaccessible, fainted beneath his emotions, and could scarcely support his station, during the three hours ordained by the ceremonial, with the aid of volatile salts and other stimulative applications. Alexy, without requesting it, received afterwards permission to travel in foreign parts, while Baratinsky was spared the trouble of a future attendance at court.

† The assistant of Alexy Orloff in the murder of Peter.

tinsky standing near her, she exclaimed in her lively manner*, '*Voilà un homme qui m'a rendu le plus grand service dans le moment le plus critique de ma vie.*' Every one present heard this expression with astonishment, as the particulars of the revolution were one of those *secrets* which are known to all the world. Catherine immediately added, perhaps on recollection, that in stepping from her carriage her foot had twisted at the ancle, when Baratinsky catching her at the instant prevented her from falling upon her face to the ground.

This anecdote is thought by many to afford a presumption of the ignorance of the empress respecting the manner of her husband's death: otherwise, say they, it could scarcely be expected, from her acknowledged prudence, that she would have hazarded an expression thus equivocal.

The vicinity of the Caspian invites the Russians to trade with Persia; and by Persia a commerce with India can easily be prosecuted. They had accordingly long profited by these advantages. The fleet maintained in the Caspian by Catherine cruised along the Persian coasts, burning all the vessels and even floats of timber which they happened to meet. The commanders received orders to sow discord between the several khans, and to support the weak against the strong; a method found but too successful in Poland and in the Krimea. In 1782, the empress determined on executing the project formed by Peter I. against Persia, of extending the Russian dominion on the western shores of the Caspian sea. The dissensions which laid waste those fertile regions appeared to favour her design, which unforseen obstacles nevertheless opposed.

The trade carried on by the Russians in China, not less beneficial than that of the Caspian, had received a check by their arrogance and ill conduct. Catherine found means to appease the Chinese, and to revive the spirit of commerce: an archimandrite, with several young Russians, was at the same time sent to study the language of China. Maritime expeditions to Kamtschatka were also set on foot.

There was yet another country with which the empress was desirous of a commercial connexion, when an incident occurred that favoured her purpose. Some shipwrecked Japa-

* 'Behold a man who rendered me the greatest service in one of the most critical moments of my life.'

nese, sixteen sailors and the master of the vessel, had saved themselves on the northern coasts of Russia, which approximated to Japan. The master was, in 1792, brought by professor Laxmann to Petersburgh. Catherine received him graciously, and gave him instructors, who, while they taught him the Russian and Tartarian languages, learnt enough of the Japanese to enable them to form some commercial arrangements. If no great success has hitherto attended this enterprise, there is no reason to doubt that, at some future period, Russia may share in the profits made by the Dutch at Japan.

While Catherine was in every quarter extending her dominions, and grasping all the territory on which she could seize with impunity, every accession of power to her rivals alarmed her fears and awakened her jealousy. The increasing fame of Frederic II. and his preponderance in Europe, more particularly disquieted her. From the first partition of Poland, Frederic had been daily encroaching on the privileges of Dantzick, which, pressed by his power, was nearly compelled to surrender itself or relinquish its commerce. Catherine, who had herself coveted Dantzick, was the more exasperated at this conduct. Its magistrates were, by her minister, artfully invited to implore her protection. Her mediation was in consequence offered to the king of Prussia, which retarded for a while the fate of the city.

A disturbance of a different nature agitated, at the same time, another quarter of Europe. A design of opening the Scheldt had been formed by Joseph II. This measure was opposed by the Dutch, who left no means unessayed to engage Frederic to support by force their pretensions. Catherine having declared on the side of Germany, Holland, dreading to be excluded from the ports of the Baltic, wisely forebore hostilities, and had recourse to negotiation. The attention of Europe became interested in a question which, however apparently simple and limited, gave rise to various conclusions. Nature and justice appeared to be on the side of the emperor, whose arguments were forcible, open, and plausible. The states opposed facts and existing circumstances to the reasoning of their adversaries. 'What an extraordinary scene,' said they, 'would Europe exhibit, if compelled to recur to original principles, and to acknowledge the law of Nature! What

would be the fate of its different powers, when obliged to relinquish those possessions and privileges which fraud or force, war or treaty, through the revolution of ages, have enabled them to acquire?' Arguments like these, however they might affect the philosopher, must to the spoilers of Poland be allowed unanswerable.

The Dutch had for their tenacity a better motive than these ostensible pleadings. The Scheldt, by its different branches, intersected their dominions, and communicated with their rivers: many of their principal cities, their harbours, docks, and naval arsenals, even the whole interior of their country, would lie open and exposed to the possessor of the Scheldt. Their very existence therefore as a nation, was concerned in this dispute.

The history of this contention, however interesting in itself, belongs not to the present memoir. Let it suffice to say, that in the summer of the following year, the negotiations between the emperor and Holland were resumed at Paris. Towards the end of June, a deputation from the republic set out from the Hague to the court of Vienna, whose object seems to have been merely to make such concessions on the part of Holland as might accord with the emperor's ideas of dignity, and open the way to accommodation.

While Catherine was securing the external peace of the empire, cabals and intrigues were reviving in her court. No means were unessayed to incite the grand-duke against his mother, and irritate the mother against her son. Paul was accustomed to pass the autumn at Gatshina, a seat eighteen versts from Tzar-sko-selo. A report suddenly arose, that he designed to build there a town, and to give liberty to all who should make it their residence. The peasants flocked in crowds to partake of these benefits, from all parts of the empire. Paul beheld them with surprise, and with great prudence kindly dismissed them. An incipient revolt was thus stifled, from which great effects had been anticipated.

Bezborodko, who succeeded to Panin, and who seemed to have inherited his sentiments, became, by his perspicacity and zeal, necessary to the empress. Connected with the family of Vorontzoff, he was the secret opponent of Potemkin, who, dis-

daining his enemies, openly braved them, or made them his sport with peculiar address.

Lanskoï the favourite, attached to Potemkin, by whom he was affectionately regarded, grew daily more dear to Catherine. His education having been neglected, she took on herself the improvement of his mind, which she enriched with useful knowledge. Through his capacity and docility, he soon became not less distinguished for his acquirements and manners, than for the graces of his person. The affection of the empress for this youth appears to have been tender and sincere: she admired in him her own creation; but her satisfaction, however genuine, proved to be transient. A fever seized her beloved pupil, who, in the flower of his age, expired in the arms of his friend and sovereign. Catherine, till the last moment of his existence, continued to lavish on him the most passionate attentions. She abandoned herself on his decease to grief and regret: shutting herself up in her chamber for several days, she refused all sustenance, and remained three months, without going out, in her palace of Tzar-sko-selo. She erected, in the gardens of the palace, a superb mausoleum to the memory of Lanskoï, which appeared through the trees from the windows of her private apartments. Two years after this event, while accidentally walking near this monument of her tenderness, she was observed by the courtiers to shed a flood of tears. The fortune of Lanskoï, which was estimated at 3,000,000 rubles, and which he had bequeathed to the empres, she returned to his sisters, reserving to herself only the right of purchasing the pictures, the medals, the library, the plate, and one landed estate, valued at 400,000 rubles, of which she had made him a present.

Potemkin took upon himself the care of consoling the empress for the loss of her favourite: he only could presume to penetrate the retirement in which she passed her hours. His influence over her mind appeared daily to increase, and, whether from gratitude or from attachment, she determined, it is said, to unite him to herself by secret but indissoluble ties. The obligations of marriage, if indeed they existed, appeared to impose but little restraint on the future conduct of either party.

The place of favourite, vacated by the death of Lanskoï,

excited the ambition and intrigues of the court. Princess Dashkoff earnestly sought to obtain it for her son, and for a moment promised herself success. The young prince Dashkoff, tall and of an advantageous figure, flattered himself with being able to attract the attention of the empress. But Potemkin, aware of his designs, without affecting to oppose them, contrived to render him ridiculous in the eyes of Catherine, and to introduce a competitor in her favour. Yermoloff and Momonoff, two subaltern officers in the guards, were with this view charged by him with some trifling commission to the empress, who, having attentively observed them, decided in favour of the former.

A ball was given at court, in which prince Dashkoff, unconscious of what had passed, displayed an extraordinary magnificence. The courtiers, believing his triumph at hand, already paid to him their homage; while Potemkin artfully redoubled his complaisance to the princess. Deceived by his duplicity, she wrote to him a note on the following day, requesting him to admit her nephew, the young count Butterlin, into the number of his aids-de-camp. Potemkin maliciously replied, that the places were full, the last having been already bestowed on lieutenant Yermoloff, whose name and person were alike unknown to the princess. The same day she became acquainted with both, on perceiving him at the Hermitage take his station behind the chair of the empress.

In 1785, a new source of jealousy and discord had opened in Germany, respecting the proposed exchange of an ancient and great electorate in the heart of Germany, for the Austrian Netherlands. The king of Prussia, who became upon this occasion the guardian and protector of the Germanic rights and liberties, and who regarded the alliance between Austria and Russia as highly formidable, invited the electors and princes of the German empire to unite for the defence of the Germanic constitution. The king of Great Britain, as elector of Hanover, was one of the first who entered the confederacy; a measure which gave great displeasure both to the empress and to Potemkin.

The court of London, desirous of renewing its treaty of commerce with Russia had sent for the purpose to Petersburgh a minister-plenipotentiary. Catherine, though with no

design of interrupting a trade beneficial to both countries, thought proper, as a testimony of her resentment against the court of England, to delay the renewal required.

The French ambassador at Constantinople had instigated the court of Petersburgh to act in concert with that of Versailles. The count de Ségur was appointed ambassador upon this occasion, a young negotiator peculiarly suited to his mission, who, to talents and extensive erudition, added prepossessing manners with the most frank and insinuating address. Thus qualified he failed not to acquire the favour of Catherine and the esteem of Potemkin, who, rough and haughty, was yet capable of appreciating merit.

The empress was desirous of visiting the famous canal of Vishney-Volotshok, which, joining the Volga with the Ilmen lake, and the lake with the Ladoga, unites the Caspian with the Baltic sea. Prince Potemkin, Yermoloff, and the foreign ministers, accompanied her on this expedition. The ambassador of France going one day to speak with Potemkin, found him particularly incensed against the court of London. Ségur, artfully taking advantage of this disgust, represented to Potemkin the benefit that would result to Russia from a direct commerce with France, without the agency of England, which reaped the profits from both countries. Potemkin having listened to him with attention, engaged him to commit his observations to paper, promising to communicate them only to the empress. The minister immediately returned to his barge, where, finding count Cobentzel and Mr. Fitzherbert amusing themselves with backgammon, he borrowed of the latter his inkstand, and, with the pen of the English ambassador, drew up the plan of a treaty of commerce between France and Russia. The paper was immediately, through Potemkin, conveyed to Catherine, who gave to it her assent. This done, it was returned to Ségur, to be presented in the customary form to Osterman the vice-chancellor.

Osterman, on the receipt of this paper, ignorant of what had passed, and devoted to the English, informed the French minister that he could not presume to flatter him with success. Ségur made no reply. The plan was submitted to the council, and immediately ratified. Such was the origin of the treaty of commerce between France and Russia. Previous to signing

the treaty, an expectation was signified by the Russian ministers, that France should declare her adhesion to the armed neutrality. This was consented to, on a proviso, that the court of Petersburgh should promise to conclude no treaty with any other power but on a similar condition. This clause, inimical to the interest of England, retarded for a long time the renewal of the treaty solicited by its minister.

Towards the close of the same year, 1785, a treaty of commerce was concluded with the emperor, highly advantageous to his people, and calculated to produce between the two empires an hereditary and permanent friendship. Similar negotiations also took place with various other nations, while the commercial treaty with England was suffered to expire.

Catherine, before she returned to Petersburgh, made a visit to Moscow; and, time having nearly effaced the remembrance of her usurpations, was less unfavourably received than on former occasions. Among those who appeared at her court was Gudovitch, the friend of the late czar, the simplicity of whose dress distinguished him from the crowd of courtiers, and whose presence recalled to every mind the image of his unfortunate master. Countess Vorontzoff, the mistress of Peter, had been long recalled from exile, and was married to the admiral Paliansky. She was never invited to court, but her daughter had been sent for by the empress, and admitted into the number of her maids of honour.

The spirit of toleration was a distinguished and singular feature in the administration of Catherine: during the whole of her reign, not a single instance occurred of religious penalty or prohibition. Persons of all countries and persuasions, lutherans, calvinists, moravians, papists, mohammedans, and infidels, if deemed worthy, might alike aspire to any place under government, whether civil or military. This liberal spirit became, in its most comprehensive sense, not merely the characteristic of the government, but of the whole empire. Professors and teachers of the several religions communicated with each other in the bonds of strict fellowship and social union; neither jealousy nor hatred existed among them; no one erected his own into a *standard-mind*, or assumed the office of inquisitor into the faith of his neighbour. The empress, not satisfied with having appointed a catholic bishop, established at Mohilef a

seminary of jesuits, supported islamism in the Krimea, and gave annually to her people some solemn instance of her protection granted to liberty of conscience. On the day of the benediction of the waters, her confessor, by her orders, invited to his house the ecclesiastics of every denomination, to whom he gave a grand entertainment, styled by Catherine the 'dinner of toleration.' The clergy of eight different forms of worship have been seen associated at this philosophical festival. The offices of religion, it has been calculated, were performed at Petersburgh in fourteen different languages.

The empress had laboured, through the whole of her reign, to diffuse knowledge among her people. With this view houses of education had been founded in the several towns, and at length distributed through the countries. A commission of public instruction was erected, at the head of which was placed Zavodoffsky, her former favourite, who was also appointed secretary of the cabinet and governor of the Lombard or loan-bank, which had been opened on a singular principle. Instead of borrowing money from her subjects, Catherine reversed the usual order of things, and became the great money-lender to the empire. This bank also acted as an insurance office against losses by fire: in it likewise both foreigners and natives were permitted to deposit their money, for the security of which the imperial word was pledged.

The empress was perpetually sending notes to the committee of public instruction, to which she attached great importance, communicative of her ideas for the improvement of the institution; while, during the performance of the lessons, she was frequently present. A learned German had consented to become professor of history and geography, in the Russ language, of which no native was found capable. Catherine being one day present at a lecture, delivered by the professor to the several tribes that inhabit Siberia, bestowed great praise on his knowledge and zeal. She afterwards proposed an objection to some of his observations, to which he replied in a clear and satisfactory manner. Zavodoffsky, unaccustomed to hear a literary man oppose an opinion against that of the sovereign, appeared irritated by the presumption of the lecturer. The empress, earnestly interrupting him, acknowledged that she had been mistaken, and thanked the professor for the ability he had

displayed in rectifying her ideas: but, observing the wrath of Zavodoffsky not yet allayed, she embraced the opportunity offered her by the moment in which he led her to the carriage, to order him to repeat to the lecturer her satisfaction and her thanks. The president, less candid and liberal than his sovereign, found means, notwithstanding what had passed, to punish the professor for his courage by depriving him of his place.

In the latter part of this year, 1785, great havoc was made by the Russians among the Ruban Tartars: a Tartar khan, two of his sons, and a nephew, were captured and brought prisoners to Petersburgh.

Yermoloff, when arrived at the pinnacle of favour, fell by his own imprudence. Jealous in his temper, he treated with caprice and ingratitude the man to whom he owed his fortune; and eagerly seized every opportunity to lessen him in the opinion of the empress. Potemkin perceived in the coolness of Catherine's manner the perfidy and influence of the favourite. An uncle of Yermoloff had been, not undeservedly, dismissed by Potemkin from the service in disgrace, in consequence of a quarrel at play. The nephew complained to the empress, who, at his instigation, reproved Potemkin. 'Madam,' replied he, haughtily, 'there is but one alternative; you must dismiss Yermoloff or me: for so long as you keep that white negro,* I will not set my foot within the palace.' The same day Yermoloff received orders to travel, and was succeeded by Momonoff. These intrigues were scarcely heard beyond the precincts of the court, while Catherine's love of glory was universally known. If her character as a *sovereign* was great, as a *woman* it admits of no palliation.

The professor Pallas had, during his travels in the interior of Russia, collected various natural curiosities, with which he had formed a valuable cabinet. This was purchased of him by the empress, as were also the libraries of d'Alembert and Voltaire.

Several persons had, at various times, by order of Catherine, traversed the northern Archipelago, and the remotest of the Russian provinces. In 1785, she sent others towards Cau-

* A term alluding to the fairness of his complexion.

casus, and to the frontiers of China, for the purpose of exploring those parts of the empire which were yet unknown. The only fruit of their discoveries made public, was the account of a small colony of strangers and Christians, found in the most sequestered parts of the wilds of Caucasus, and whose manners exhibited a primeval simplicity. These people appeared ignorant of their own origin; but, from an affinity in their language and other circumstances, were supposed to be descendants of a colony of Bohemians, who, flying from persecution, towards the close of the fifteenth century, found refuge from their oppressors in these remote deserts.

A marine expedition was formed about this time, for the purpose of ascertaining, or of extending, those discoveries which had before been unsuccessfully undertaken or imperfectly achieved. But the work which reflects yet greater honour upon Catherine, is the navigable canal in the province of Iver, which, by opening a communication between the rivers Ivert and the Msta, will, if ever completed, not only establish an inland navigation through the countries between the shores of the Caspian and the Baltic, but actually unite those distant seas: an union unparalleled in the annals of history.

The czarina, desirous of augmenting the population of her newly-acquired provinces, published a manifesto, inviting foreigners to resort thither. By another manifesto, which appeared a few months after the former, she declared to the inhabitants of Russia and Tartary, that it was no longer required of them, in their addresses to the throne, to style themselves *slaves* but *subjects*. Acts of popularity like these are laudable, and reflect credit upon such as adopt them. Whether from inclination or policy, Catherine endeared herself to her people by the attention she paid to their children, of whom she always had a number in her apartments, whose caresses she returned with extreme complacence, and who enjoyed in the palace the same liberty with the princes her grand-children.

Munificence and grandeur were the characteristics of her court, which in splendor and magnificence was formed upon the Asiatic rather than the European model.

In the beginning of the year 1786, the empress publicly announced her design of making a progress to Kerson and the Krimea, for the purpose of being crowned sovereign of her

new conquests. The procession, whether by sea or land, was to be suited to the grand concluding ceremonial, when the empress was to be crowned queen of Taurida, and declared protectress of all the Tartar nations. A fleet of galleys, built for the occasion, were ordered to be furnished with every necessary convenience and elegant accommodation fitted to a luxurious and magnificent court. The sum of 7,000,000 rubles* is said (probably with some exaggeration) to have been dedicated to the mere expense of presents to be distributed at the coronation. In this lavish magnificence a political object was in view: terrified by the power, or allured by the pomp, displayed on this occasion, the adjoining nations, it was believed would flock from all parts to do homage to the new sovereign of the east, who would thereby enlarge and secure her dominion, without the hazard of war or the expense of conquest.

But the grand political object of Catherine in this intended display, after having taken the sceptre of the Krimea, and awed the surrounding nations, was to conduct her grand-son Constantine to the gates of the eastern empire; to the sovereignty of which she had destined him from his birth. Greek nurses had, with this view, been procured for him from the isle of Naxos: dressed in the Greek fashion, and surrounded by children of that nation, he had acquired their language, which he spoke with facility. It was for him that the Grecian cadet-corps of two hundred cadets was established. The preparations were nearly completed, and all was in motion, when the prince unfortunately sickened of the measles, and was obliged to be left at Petersburgh. This event, combined with other circumstances, more particularly the account of some serious altercations between the Russians and Tartars, occasioned considerable alterations in the projected progress. Narrowed in its design, and disencumbered of its magnificence, the coronation and the new titles were given up, the expected military force did not attend, neither did the procession take place at the time proposed: the empress was content with showing herself to her new subjects, and appearing to take some formal possession of Kerson and the Krimea. The inhabitants of those unknown regions, alarmed rather than dazzled by the report of

* 1,500,000*l.*

the intended progress, and considering it as a signal of general danger cemented their forces, and united for resistance. This effect of a vain pomp soon became apparent, while the war of the Krimea grew daily more serious.

The conferences held on this occasion between Catherine, the emperor, and the king of Poland, were beheld by the Ottomans with anxiety and suspicion. However insignificant Poland might appear as an ally, in the scale of hostile exertion, its situation between the two empires, which it was capable of uniting, with its valuable productions, rendered it, in the eyes of the Porte, a formidable accession to the strength of their enemies. It was even rumoured, that, on this memorable progress, the friendship of the king, limited as was his authority, had been purchased by a sum of money; a report that exposed him to a charge, at the ensuing diet, of having entered into conditions inimical to the republic.

The ambition of Catherine had roused the jealousy and the fears of the Turkish empire; a distrust which a thousand circumstances, added to her views respecting her grand-son (views rendered but too apparent by his name and education) sufficiently justified. The grand object attributed to her, to which every other was said to be in subordination, was the establishing in her family two mighty empires, capable of subverting Europe and Asia. The ruined Tartars, driven from the Krimea, complained loudly of the pusillanimity of the Porte, and implored heaven and earth for vengeance. The intended enthronement of Catherine was regarded by all as fixing to her usurpations a final seal.

On the 18th of January, 1787, the empress commenced her journey, attended by her court, her friends, and favourites, with the ministers of Austria, of France, and England. The sledges travelled night and day. At every station a number of horses had been previously collected: great fires were lighted at the distance of every thirty fathom; while a concourse of people, whom curiosity had attracted, skirted the road. Potemkin, who had gone on before, joined Catherine at Kief, where she was also met by the Polish princes and nobles who were in the Russian interest.

Fifty galleys had been disposed on the Dniepr for the reception of the empress, who embarked at the beginning of the

spring, attended by a numerous suite. On the following day the fleet cast anchor opposite to Kanieff, when the king of Poland, under the title of Count Poniatoffsky, went on board the galley of Catherine. On their first meeting, after an interval of three and twenty years, the empress appeared to be in some degree affected, while Stanislaus, preserving more presence of mind, discoursed with great composure. They remained alone, in private conference, more than half an hour, after which they dined together. Catherine decorated her former favourite with the riband of the order of St. Andrew. Potemkin appeared to be charmed with the Polish monarch, whom he beheld for the first time: to this favourable impression made upon the Russ by Stanislaus, the preservation of his crown for some years longer is ascribed. He retired in the evening highly satisfied with his reception, and the fleet pursued its course.

At Krementshuk the empress found an army of 12,000 men, in new uniforms, who performed before her a mock fight. It was on this occasion, while distributing her favours on all who pressed forward to receive them, that Catherine, addressing Suvaroff, said, 'And you, general, do you want nothing?' 'Only that you will order my lodgings* to be paid, madam,' answered he.

The shores of the Dniepr were covered with villages, constructed for the occasion, with peasants elegantly dressed, tending numerous flocks, who, by cross roads, came to different parts of the coast by which the fleet was to pass, and thus were incessantly reproduced to the voyagers. The beauty of the season, added to the effect of this spectacle, spread an enchantment over regions nearly desert.

Joseph II. had arrived at Kerson some time before the empress, whom he set out to meet. Catherine landed at Kaïdak, and, accompanied by the emperor, proceeded to Kerson, already an opulent city. Upon a gate towards the east, the empress read as she passed, a Greek inscription to the following purport: "By this, the way leads to Byzantium."

Foreigners of all nations, drawn by curiosity, or by the desire of paying homage to Catherine, were assembled at Kerson. Among others, Miranda, a fugitive from the Havannah,

* The rent of the lodgings was two rubles per month.

was presented to her by Potemkin: obliged to fly his own country, he sought and found an asylum in Russia. Among the ladies who resorted to the court of the empress, appeared a Grecian, whose charms triumphed over the heart of Potemkin.

A message sent to the divan, before the departure of Catherine from Petersburgh, announcing her journey and softening its purport, had failed in disarming the distrust of the Porte; who, considering the progress in itself as an aggression, took measures to repel it. Four Turkish ships anchored at the mouth of the Borysthenes, while the empress remained at Kerson. Beholding them with scorn, and turning to her courtiers, 'Do you see?' said she: 'one would suppose that the Turks had no recollection of Tschesmé.'

It was at Kerson that Joseph II. received intelligence of the rebellion that had broken out at Brabant. He nevertheless followed Catharine in her visit to the interior of the Krimea, where she was received by the principal myrzas, whose troops in her presence made various evolutions. On a sudden the carriages were surrounded by a thousand Tartars, who formed themselves into an escort. Joseph, who had not been apprised of this manœuvre, expressed some uneasiness, while the empress preserved her usual tranquillity. This Tartar escort had been appointed by Potemkin, who, not far off, had an army of 153,000 men.

Catherine, having made her entry with great pomp, was lodged with her suite in the palace of the Khan. In the evening she was entertained with the spectacle of a mountain which, artificially illuminated, appeared as on fire. Every exertion was made to entertain her with agreeable objects, while, in her turn, she omitted no art of conciliation to engage the affections of the people. She allotted funds for the building of two mosques, and distributed considerable presents among the myrzas, who testified towards her an ardent devotion, and in six weeks afterwards declared for the Turks.

On her way back the empress was conducted to Pultowa, where, on her arrival, two armies appearing, approached, engaged, and gave a lively and exact representation of the famous battle in which the hero of Sweden was defeated by Peter the Great. Joseph II. delighted with this spectacle, prepared by

Potemkin, expressed his satisfaction, while he deplored nevertheless the fate of the Swedish hero. Gratified by the conduct of Potemkin, and charmed by the behaviour of the empress, he entered into all her measures, and expressed his inclination to assist in causing her grandson to be crowned at Constantinople. At Moscow the imperial friends parted: Joseph, taking leave of the empress, rapidly crossed Poland, and returned to his dominions, while Catherine pursued the road to Petersburgh.

Potemkin, however, desirous of war both from public and private motives, was anxious that hostilities should be commenced by the Turks. Burthened with honours and titles, he was still solicitous to add to his dignities the grand riband of the order of St. George. To obtain this, it was necessary to command an army, and to gain a victory. A hecatomb of victims was without remorse to be offered at the shrine of his ambition.

The Russian troops made a licentious use of the privileges granted to them by the Porte: a variety of intrigues were set on foot; while the court of Petersburgh gave perpetual countenance to the violation of treaties. The Porte, irritated at this conduct, and at the discovery of a correspondence between one of the rulers of Cairo and the Russian minister, gave orders for quelling the disturbances in Egypt. A conference was a few days afterwards demanded of the minister, and a memorial presented to him, stating the causes of complaint.

The ambassador requested time to consult his court; a petition readily granted: but, on a second meeting, the divan resolved that it was unnecessary to wait for an answer. War* was accordingly declared in Constantinople, and the minister shut up in the castle of the Seven Towers. The injuries and insults of which the Porte complained, were certainly neither few nor imaginary.

The ambassadors of Vienna and France united their efforts to obtain from the divan the liberation of the Russian minister: their remonstrances proved ineffectual: the English ambassador, entering warmly into the interests of his court, which resented the treaty of commerce between Russia and France, opposed to theirs his influence.

* August 18th, 1787.

The Turks prepared with alacrity for war: a formidable army advanced to the shores of the Danube, while the standard of Mohammed was prepared to be unfurled. The progress of the empress to Kerson had been beheld with rage by the people, who repined at the supineness of their governors. All Europe wondered, on seeing the Porte prepare for war, at its forbearance on this occasion.

To increase the confidence of the army and the reverence of the nation, the grand-vizier was entrusted by the sovereign with extraordinary powers, which received a sanction in the joy and approbation of the people. A squadron of sixteen ships of the line, eight frigates, and several galleys, entered the Euxine, under the command of the capadan-pacha. The old admiral had but recently returned from Egypt, where he had subdued the rebellious beys, and collected a tribute of twelve millions of piastres. Humble amidst his success, he recollected with grief the disaster of Tschesmé, while he harangued the fleet on the subject of their expedition. 'I am going in quest of battles,' said he, 'firmly resolved to conquer or die. Should there be any one among you who wants courage to sacrifice himself in the glorious conflict, let him speak freely. He shall find favour before me, and receive his dismission. But those who neglect to execute my orders in the hour of battle, must hope for no excuse. I swear by Mohammed, and the life of my sultan, their heads shall pay the forfeit of their disobedience. But on him who performs his duty a liberal reward shall be bestowed. Let those who on these conditions are willing to follow me, rise up, and swear to obey me faithfully.' The commanders having on this address all risen, swore to conquer or die with their leader. 'Go,' returned he, 'my brave and faithful companions, return to your ships, receive the oaths of your crews, and hold yourselves in readiness for sailing to-morrow.' The Turks having disarmed the Greeks, of whose fidelity they were doubtful, invited the Tartars, who regretted their old masters, and detested their new ones, to return to their allegiance. In vain the empress loaded them with presents; in vain she caused mosques to be erected, and Korans to be printed; the Tartars, beholding in her merely the Christian, yearned after their mussulman prince. The myrzas met and elected a khan, who soon beheld under him an army of 4000 men.

The news of the war, which, foreseen by the empress, had been impatiently expected at Petersburgh, was received with transports of joy. The preparations were already made: prince Potemkin, commander in chief of the forces, had under his orders a number of generals, among whom was Suvaroff, afterwards so celebrated. Marshal Romantzoff, unwilling to be an instrument to the glory of Potemkin, excused himself on account of his age from accepting the command, of which some remains of a forced respect had procured him the offer. His son joined the army. A fleet was equipped in the Euxine, and two strong squadrons were in readiness at Cronstadt to sail for the Mediterranean. Joseph II. not less solicitous than Catherine for a war with the Turks, afforded to her a powerful support. Eighty thousand Austrians were on their march to Moldavia; ever thing seemed to announce the ruin of the Ottoman power.

A manifesto was published by the empress in the usual style: the Turks were accused in lofty terms of the infraction of treaties, while a catalogue of charges were brought against them. "Perfectly innocent of all the calamities engendered by war," Catherine, relying on the justice of her cause, asserts her claim to the providence and protection of God, and to the prayers of all the christian world. This manifesto was followed by a second, which declared, "That the Porte had been so arrogant as to insist on a categorical answer to its absurd demands: that the empress, forced to repel the aggression of the enemy of the christian name, armed herself with confidence under the protection of that righteous God,* who had so long and so powerfully guarded the Russian empire."

In support of these memorials, which were to move heaven and earth against the Ottomans, means were employed yet better adapted to the superstition of the Russians. Papers were printed, in which prophecies predicting the speedy ruin of Constantinople were published and circulated.

On the side of the enemy also, an angel appeared to the Sheik Mansour, in the midst of a wood, and empowered him

* The king of Prussia acted with more good sense in his attack upon Silesia. *Pro Deo et Patria*, was proposed as the device for his standard. He erased *Pro Deo*, saying it was improper to confound the name of God with the quarrels of men, and that he was going to fight for a province and not for religion.

to collect an army against the Russians from among the hordes of mount Caucasus. Thus encouraged, the Sheik, supported by some neighbouring tribes of Tartars and scattered Turks, entered the Russian frontiers at the head of 8000 men, but paid dearly for his temerity: the Tartars struggled in vain against superior numbers, arms, and discipline.

To detail the particulars of the war is not the business of this narration; suffice it to say, that the advantage was on the side of the Russians, and *Te Deum* was sung in the churches of Petersburgh. The minister of France was earnestly solicited by the empress to engage his court to unite with her in the dismemberment of the Ottoman empire; in return for which service she proposed to cede to France the possession of Egypt, of the conquest of which she believed herself secure. This temptation proved insufficient to overpower other considerations nearer and more impressive: the government of Petersburgh already threatened to disarrange the equilibrium of Europe; while interest and policy combined to render France adverse to the ruin of the Turks.

In her efforts to incite christendom against the Porte, Catherine could scarcely flatter herself with success; her growing power must necesarily become an object of distrust, and awaken the jealousy of the surrounding nations. Prussia could not be expected patiently to suffer the aggrandizement either of Russia or Austria; while England excited the Ottomans to resistance. But what appears to have been unforeseen by the empress, was the resolution of Gustavus III. to declare against her immediate war.

Russia thus found herself suddenly involved in new and unexpected difficulties, the consequences of which were not in her original calculations. As a nation, Sweden wanted not cause of resentment against Russia; the sense of past injuries was still keen, while from her present boundless ambition she had every thing to dread. The revolution in the government of Sweden had produced between the two courts mutual jealousy and dislike; that Sweden should ever recover her rank among nations was contrary to the policy and to the interest of Russia: since the visit of Gustavus to Petersburgh, whence he departed suddenly, as it was reported, without taking leave, and returned precipitately to his diminions, the breach between

the two courts had been gradually growing wider. In a pamphlet written by Gustavus on the situation of public affairs, his offered mediation is stated between Russia and the Porte; an office for which he was particularly qualified by the friendship subsisting between Sweden and Turkey. The scorn with which this proposal was received and rejected, appears to have been sensibly felt by the royal writer. A similar offer from Great Britain, supported by Prussia, was treated with little less ceremony. To the pertinacious adherence of Catherine to her designs, the king attributes his subsequent conduct, which he justifies on the principle of self-defence. The ministers also of Russia had successfully employed themselves in sowing dissensions among the Swedish nobles, who were but too much inclined to listen to their insidious counsels.

Gustavus, resolved on revenge, formed a treaty with the Ottomans: Prussia supplied him with money, while England promised to assist him with a fleet. Thus supported, he determined to march against Frederiksham, to attack the town on two different sides, and take it by assault.

The inhabitants of Petersburgh were seized with suprise and consternation: the Russian soldiery having been sent off against the Turks, the empress at the moment of alarm had only some invalids, with a few detachments of her guards, to send to the relief of Frederiksham. That Gustavus would get possession of the place, and proceed to lay siege to the residence, no one appeared to doubt. Catherine preserved, amidst extreme anxiety, the exterior of tranquillity: the French ambassador entering the palace at this critical moment, she inquired of him what news was talked of? 'That you, madam, are going to set out for Moscow,' replied he. 'It is true,' said she, 'I have given orders for a number of post-horses to be kept in readiness; but it is for the purpose of bringing soldiers and cannon.' In reality, the few troops dispersed among the less distant garrisons were collected and sent into Finland to join the detachments already there. The command of this incomplete army was given to an inexperienced general, whose military reputation was ill calculated to alleviate the apprehensions of the people. The empress hastily published a declaration, in which, complaining of the conduct of the king of

Sweden, she dissembled the weakness of her troops, pretending that the garrisons had been reinforced by way of precaution, long before the aggression of the Swedes. The Swedish minister was at the same time ordered instantly to quit the empire.

Hostilities were commenced in Finland, in which the advantages were on the side of the Swedes. Their fleet in the mean time paraded about the gulf; and even, advancing within sight of the batteries of Cronstadt, appeared to defy the Russian armament, which had received sailing orders for the Mediterranean; but the appearance of the Swedish vessels occasioned them to be recalled.

The near approach of an enemy could not fail to alarm the capital, who knew of war only by report. Troops were drawn from all quarters for its defence, and every possible precaution of security adopted. The younger branches of the imperial family were sent to Moscow, while the empress unappalled awaited the bursting of the storm. All the Kozacs within reach were hastily collected, to be turned loose, when occasion should serve, upon the provinces of Sweden; while admiral Greig, a Scotsman, a brave and distinguished seaman, sailed with a strong fleet from Cronstadt to counteract the designs of the enemy by sea, on the side of which only they could yet manace Petersburgh.

It should seem as if, from the supineness with which Europe had beheld the dismemberment of Poland, with the perfidy and violence practised on the occasion, Russia and Austria had in their present system been lulled to security; they appeared to take it for granted, that the subversion of a great and ancient empire, with the division of its spoils, would be observed by the nations with equal indifference: but this inertness no longer existed; attention had been roused, jealousy was excited, and Europe took the alarm. The claims, pretensions, and designs of the allied empires, were now regarded with a general coldness, an implied or declared disapprobation. Genoa only afforded an exception, by granting a loan to Russia and the use of her ports; she engaged likewise to furnish the Mediterranean fleet with stores and supplies. Prussia, from its situation, its interest, and its power, was the most formidable adversary to the allied empires; its monarch,

whose policy was not yet to be fathomed, beheld the gathering tempest with a steady eye, as if waiting to behold it burst before he took his resolutions.

Such was the aspect of public affairs, and so unfavourable was the appearance of Europe to a war, which its partizans firmly believed would terminate in the subversion of the Ottoman empire. The favour and concurrence of England, on which the court of Petersburgh had multiplied disobligations, was of peculiar importance in this conjuncture: but while Russia depended for assistance on the commerce and manufactures of Great Britain, she neglected to conciliate her favour, and refused to renew her treaties. The agents for the empress in London had agreed for the hire of ships to serve as tenders to the Russian fleet, in the conveyance of stores, arms, and ammunition, when a proclamation in the London Gazette, prohibiting British seamen from entering into the service of any foreign power, &c. put a sudden stop to their proceedings.

This disappointment was followed by a second of a similar nature in the Republic of Holland; a measure which was attributed by Russia to the influence of Great Britain. The court of Petersburgh, however exasperated, was ultimately benefited by these impediments, which, by occasioning the delay of her fleet, preserved her capital from the attacks of her neighbour the king of Sweden.

The Russian squadron, commanded by admiral Greig, having put to sea, the hostile fleets approached each other in a fog off the island of Hoogland. A desperate conflict ensued, the horror of which was augmented by darkness, by inclement elements, and the dangers of a narrow sea, studded with islands, rocks, and shoals. The event was undecisive, victory being claimed on both sides. Admiral Greig, from the accession of fresh ships, and the vicinity of the great naval magazines and arsenals, was in a short time able again to put to sea with an acquisition of strength. Coming suddenly upon the Swedes when, unapprehensive of an attack, their situation and circumstances rendered them incapable of defence, he assailed them furiously and threw them into disorder: the Gustavus Adolphus, of 60 guns, abandoned as a sacrifice for the rest, was taken and burnt by the Russians. From this event till the end of the campaign, the Swedes, shut up in the har-

bour of Sveabourg, were precluded from the means of refitting, while the Russian fleet rode triumphant mistress of the seas.

The joy at Petersburgh on this sudden turn of affairs, was in proportion to its late panic; while the favours shown to the admiral proved the importance of his service. A letter was written to him by the empress, in her own hand, full of praise and acknowledgment: to this honour were added the substantial benefits of a large sum of money, and an estate in Livonia. Not more fortunate in his life than honoured in his death, which took place towards the close of the year, his funeral was, by the orders of the empress, celebrated with pomp, and adorned by those appropriate naval and military honours, which by the martial nations of Europe are assigned as a tribute to the manes of the brave.

Offers of accommodation were proposed to Catherine by the king of Sweden, who, adopting a high tone, sensibly wounded her pride. It was required by Gustavus, that count Razumoffsky, the Russian minister at Stockholm, should be punished for his intrigues and machinations; that a part of Finland and Karelia, ceded to Russia by former treaties, should be restored to Sweden; that the court of Petersburgh should, under the mediation of Sweden, make peace with the Pope; that the independence of the Krimea should be established, and that Russia should immediately disarm, while Sweden should remain in arms till after the conclusion of the treaty. 'What language!' exclaimed Catherine indignantly; 'if the king of Sweden were already at Moscow, I would even then show him what a woman like myself, standing on the ruins of a mighty empire, is able to do.'

Instead of making any reply to the proposals of Gustavus, the empress recalled general Mikelson, who was fighting against the Turks, and conferred upon him the command of her army in Finland, which she reinforced with 20,000 men. Beside which, she reckoned on the defection of the officers of Gustavus, nor did she miscalculate. The king of Sweden, destined to mortification, beheld the fortune of Russia predominate: in his endeavours to free his country from foreign control, and to restore in some degree her ancient glory, he experienced only accumulated and bitter disappointments.

To produce in Sweden a counter-revolution, which, gratifying the ambition and venality of its nobles, would subject it to the domination of a foreign minister, was the determined policy of Russia: for this her measures were so artfully planned, that she appeared to calculate with certainty upon their success. Confiding in a well constituted army, and in the courage and discipline of his troops, Guatavus flattered himself with carrying terror to the gates of Petersburgh; when he had the mortification to discover that no confidence could be placed in the soldiers, that the officers were disaffected, and that a traitorous correspondence was carried on with the enemy. At the siege of Frederiksham, his misfortune and his disgrace became apparent: under pretence that the war had been undertaken without the consent of the state, and contrary to the constitution of Sweden, the officers refused to lead on the attack; while the troops, to whom Gustavus appealed, laid down their arms, to his utter surprise and dismay.

The defection of the Swedes was more than a victory to Catherine, who, not satisfied with this advantage, called upon Denmark for succours. The court of Copenhagen, however averse to war, was faithful to its engagements with Russia: a fleet was ordered to be equipped, while the prince-royal, accompanied by prince Charles of Hesse,* proceeded to Norway, and put themselves at the head of the troops. The Norwegians, a simple and generous nation, heard not in vain the signal of war: entering the western provinces of Sweden, and capturing every place in their course, they proceeded to la siege to Gothemburg, the second city of the kingdom.

Gustavus was in the most imminent hazard of destruction, when the interference of England and Prussia, whom policy directed to preserve the equipoise and protect the liberties of the north, averted the present danger. The English minister at Copenhagen, informed of the siege of Gothemburg, rapidly crossed Sweden and repaired to the Danish camp. Having summoned the prince to raise the siege, he declared to him, that unless he evacuated the territory without delay, England would lay an embargo on the Danish ships in her ports, and send a squadron to bombard the castle of Kronenberg. These

* Viceroy of Norway, and father-in-law to the prince of Denmark.

menaces, seconded by the remonstrances of the minister of Prussia, finally prevailed: a truce was concluded, and the army of the Danish prince returned peaceably to Norway.

The Russian fleet was in the mean time gaining frequent advantages against the Turks and Tartars: during an engagement an incident took place in which the courage inspired by national pride was displayed even in the conduct of slaves. The Turkish admiral's ship having caught fire, a sailor rushed through the flames to save the flag: a Russian seaman, not less intrepid, observing the action, leaped into a canoe, and climing on board the ship on the point of blowing up, seized the flag which the Turk was employed in unfastening, took him prisoner, and carried it off in triumph.

Immense armies were preparing in Russia for the field: nothing that might tend to ensure success was withheld from Potemkin, who governed the war department, and whose influence was absolute. In the distribution of kingdoms and empires, it was expected that a sovereignty, under whatever title, would at least be allotted to his share. Those who cherished patriotic sentiments were not without apprehension of the consequences of vesting so exorbitant a power in the hands of an individual. The scene of action in which the war was to be exhibited, presented the most calamitous and deplorable aspect: famine and pestilence had, with a long and cruel war, combined to desolate the Tartar countries, and lay waste the frontiers of the contending empires; excepting in the single article of green forage, it was necessary that the provision of the armies should be brought from an immense distance.

The Russian forces, estimated at 150,000 men, under the orders of Potemkin and general count Romantzoff, assisted by prince Repnin, Suvaroff, and other officers, appeared in despite of these difficulties, on the banks of the Bogue, on their way to the Euxine. This force was supported by corresponding preparations of artillery, cannon, mortars, engines, &c. destined for the siege of Otchakoff. During the siege, Potemkin, whose personal courage some one had ventured to call in question, passed repeatedly for several days, with great coolness, under the very cannon of the ramparts. A general officer who accompanied him in one of these walks, having had his thigh carried away by a cannon ball, suffered some cries to escape him.

'What do you cry for?' said Potemkin coolly.* The officer was silent from respect, but expired the next day.

The place was carried by assault: the lieutenant of Potemkin (who remained with his mistress in his camp) rushed into the town, and spread carnage and desolation on every side. Potemkin absented himself from this assault, because it presented no extraordinary opportunity for signalising himself. The Turkish soldiers defended themselves with bravery: the greater part of them fell with their weapons in their hands; the rest, with the majority of the inhabitants, were put to the sword. The town was given up to plunder, when every species of horror and profligacy ensued. The scenes of riot and slaughter lasted three days, during which more than 25,000 Turks perished. The Russians lost in the assault 12,000 men.

These conquests, little less fatal to the victors than to the vanquished, failed to abate the ardor of Catherine for the continuance of the war. Fresh recruits were by her orders levied through the empire: men began to grow scarce in Russia; the wilds of Siberia were therefore ransacked for exiles, who were brought to be incorporated in the troops.

Gustavus during these events was meditating revenge against Catherine; the dissensions fomented in Sweden by her agents were injuries that he could not pardon. A lieutenant-colonel, by an atrocious plan, administered to the animosity of his master. The Russian squadron was detained by the ice in the road of Copenhagen: under the pretence of a speculation in commerce, a vessel was purchased and freighted, filled with casks of brandy, and well pitched within and without. O'Brien, a native of Ireland, of whom the ship was bought, was left as commander, with orders to take advantage of the first north-east wind and set fire to his vessel: by this means it was intended to consume not merely the fleet of Russia but that of the Danes also. O'Brien indiscreetly mentioned his engagement to a friend, who, struck with horror at the project, went in haste to report what he had heard: the Danish ministry thus alarmed, sent people to search the ship and take the commander into custody. The original contriver, suspecting

* This speech respecting the sufferings of another exhibited brutality rather than courage.

the failure of his design, escaped in the livery of a domestic from the house of the Swedish minister, whither he had repaired for refuge. The minister himself, foreseeing the odium that would follow on the discovery of the plot, timely withdrew. This atrocious attempt was not calculated to reconcile the courts of Stockholm and Petersburgh. Gustavus was at length finally compelled, by the superior force of Russia, to evacuate Finland.

Conquered but not discouraged, he desisted not from attempts to annoy his enemy. The Swedish and Russian fleets continued to skirmish with various success. The prince of Nassau, who had with superior force given battle to the Swedes, and by his unskilfulness suffered an entire defeat, thus wrote to the empress: 'Madam, I have had the misfortune to fight against the elements, against the Swedes, and against the Russians.* I hope that your majesty will do me justice.' The empress replied; 'You are in the right, because I am resolved that you shall be so. This is highly aristocratic, but it is therefore suitable to the country in which we live. Depend always on your affectionate Catherine.' This engagement had cost the Russians half their fleet with more than 10,000 men. To the Swedes, who had formerly taught them how to fight by land, they returned the obligation, by teaching them in turn to vanquish in this new and severe mode of deciding the fortune of war.

This defeat, which went near the heart of Catherine, accelerated a peace: Gustavus, sensible of his imprudence, and conscious of the disordered state of his affairs, accepted the terms proposed to him by the empress. The minister of Spain, who offered his mediation on the occasion, engaged that Gustavus should turn his arms against the French. Catherine, in the hope of seeing him entangled in a new and distant adventure, affected magnanimity; and, feigning to pardon him, required only the re-establishment of former treaties and a total oblivion of the late hostilities.

The war of Finland afforded to the empress occasions for the display both of severity and clemency. Some Swedish officers, employed as teachers in the cadet-corps at Petersburgh,

* Implying that the Russians had suffered themselves to be beaten, to tarnish his glory.

ventured to correspond with their countrymen, and to speak of Catherine with great freedom. These letters were intercepted and read by the empress. The Swedes were arrested, tried, and found guilty. Catherine had on their examination, joined with the head of the secret commission, who was a man of savage and sanguinary temper, a worthy military officer, for the express purpose of moderating his colleague. The punishment for the crime proved was death; but the empress, with a lenity that did her honour, contented herself with sending the delinquents into the interior provinces, where she continued to them the whole of their appointment, and on the conclusion of the peace sent them back to their own country.

About the same period Radischeff, a director of the customs at Petersburgh, published the narrative of a journey from Petersburgh to Moscow, in which he feigned to have had a dream, wherein Truth, appearing to him, dictated representations (which he was commanded to deliver) by which the unbounded authority of Potemkin was forcibly displayed, and even the conduct of Catherine attacked. This was the first printed libel that ever appeared at Petersburgh. Notwithstanding the strict regulations of the press, it was sold by hawkers in the exchange for two days, with the *imprimatur* of the public licenser upon it, before it attracted the notice of government. Inquiries having been made respecting it, the officer of the police, whose business it is to license publications, alleged in his excuse, that, having looked at the manuscript and seen it to be the narration of a journey to Moscow, he had stampt it with his *imprimatur* without farther consideration. The author had printed the pamphlet in his own lodgings, with the types of the custom-house press: he was nevertheless discovered, and, on being interrogated, simply replied, that he conceived there was no harm in publishing a dream; that if people saw in it there own resemblance, he was no more to blame than a man who should hold up a mirror for every person to look into that pleased. The empress, so moderate on the former occasion, was so much incensed at this impertinence as to send the writer to Siberia. The princess Dashkoff and her brother, the known patrons of Radischeff, were suspected of having instigated him to this publication. It is possible that, in her gene-

rosity to the Swedes, Catherine was solicitous of gaining partizans among their countrymen, as it is certain that to the nations already in her power she could sometimes assume a terrible aspect.

That the peace should occasion joy at Stockholm is little surprising, when even at Petersburgh the testimonies of public satisfaction were carried to an extreme. The pride of the nation, and the contempt so recently affected for its adversary, were not perfectly consistent with these rejoicings. A grand *Te Deum*, at which the empress in person assisted, was performed in the church: during one day and night the whole court exhibited the most splendid gala; while the city, in a blaze of illuminations, re-echoed with acclamations of joy. The negotiators of the peace on both sides were magnificently recompensed by Catherine; a conduct which seemed to testify the interest she took in the event. But to return to the Ottoman war, from which the conflict with the Swedes necessarily led.

Abdul Achmed IV. the grand-seignior, a man of admirable qualities and possessing an enlightened mind, dying suddenly, was succeeded by his nephew under the name of Selim III. It was generally believed that, failing in her grand scheme of driving the Turks out of Europe and placing her grandson on the throne of the Greek emperors, the next object of Catherine was to erect into an independent sovereignty, for her favourite Potemkin, the provinces of Moldavia, Valakia, and Bessarabia. The power and influence of Potemkin, already supreme, spread jealousy and alarm through the nation. Compelled to abandon this design by the opposition of the allies, the empress soothed for the present the ambition of her favourite by appointing him hetman of the Kozacs, an office wearing the semblance of sovereignty, and the highest in the empire.

Respecting Otchakoff, the Krimea, the Euxine, and other points of her claim, she remained inflexible. This perseverance, resented by the allies, had nearly involved Russia in a war with Great-Britain and Prussia: an event only prevented by the powerful opposition raised in England against the intentions of the government. Such a measure at one period must have produced extraordinary consequences in favour of Sweden, whose warlike monarch, supported by Prussian armies

and English fleets, might have carried fire and sword into the heart of the Russian empire. It became therefore to the court of Petersburgh a circumstance of the utmost importance, to draw off Gustavus from an alliance thus formidable.

Of the great events depending on the capture of Otchakoff, Catherine was fully sensible: her rewards to the conquerors on this occasion exceeded even the limits of her usual magnificence. The spirit of emulation thus roused in the Russian armies, every step was marked by triumphs, and victory followed victory. The Austrian army, pressed hard by that of the grand-vizier, was already retreating before the Turks, when Suvaroff at the head of 8000 Russians flew to their assistance. 'My friends,' cried he to his soldiers, (who found 30,000 of the allies pursued by 100,000 of the enemy) 'never look at the eyes of your adversaries. Fix your view at their breasts: it is there that you must thrust your bayonets.' This intrepidity turned the fortune of the day; the Turks were routed with a horrible carnage, and Suvaroff remained master of the field. This victory, gained near the river Rimnik, procured for the conqueror the surname of Rimniksky, with the double title of Count of the Russian and of the Holy Roman empire. The capture of Tutukay in Bulgaria followed: Suvaroff, who affected brevity of style, wrote to the empress on this occasion four lines of Russ poetry, signifying, "Glory to God! Praise to Catherine! Tutukay is taken! Suvaroff is in it!" Town after town submitted to the victorious Russians: Bender surrendered at discretion. Ismaïl still held out.

This city had been for seven months besieged by Potemkin: living in his camp like one of the ancient satraps, whose luxury he equalled if not exceeded, surrounded by a crowd of courtiers and women, he became nevertheless impatient of delay. One of his mistresses, pretending to read in the arrangement of a pack of cards the decrees of fate, predicted that the town would be taken at the end of three weeks. Potemkin answered, smiling, that he was possessed of a method of divination yet more infallible. At that instant he sent orders to Suvaroff to take Ismaïl within three days. Suvaroff having made himself ready, on the third day drew up his soldiers. 'My brothers,' said he, 'provisions are dear! No quarter.' The assault was immediately begun. Twice the Russians were

repulsed with great loss. The third attack they scaled the ramparts, forced their way into the town, and put to the sword all who opposed them. Fifteen thousand Russians purchased with their lives the bloody laurels of their leader, who wrote to the empress with his usual brevity, 'The haughty Ismaïl is at your feet!'

Several French officers distinguished themselves in the attack, among whom was Roger Damus Langeron. Some days after the taking of Ismaïl, Potemkin, discoursing with Langeron respecting the revolution in France, spoke with great contempt of the efforts of the people, whose struggles for liberty he considered as a crime. 'Your countrymen, colonel,' said he, 'are a pack of madmen. I would only require my grooms to stand by me; and we should soon bring them to their senses.' Langeron, though an emigrant, could not patiently suffer this language. 'Prince,' replied he boldly, 'I do not think you would be able to do it with all your army.' Potemkin, rising in great fury at this retort, threatened his opponent with exile to Siberia. Langeron, instantly quitting his presence, and crossing the Seret which divides Moldavia from Valakia, entered himself into the Austrian camp.

Catherine, elated with the news of these successive victories, accosted Sir Charles Whitworth, when he next appeared at court, with an ironical smile, 'Sir,' said she, 'since the king your master is determined to drive me out of Petersburgh, I hope he will permit me to retire to Constantinople.'

Potemkin, impatient to enjoy his triumphs, after making the necessary dispositions for leaving his army in safety, hastened his return to Petersburgh. He was received by the empress with transports of joy, while honours and emoluments were showered upon him. She presented to him another palace, contiguous to her own, in the fitting up of which 600,000 rubles had been expended: to this gift was added a coat laced with diamonds, valued at 200,000. The pomp and magnificence which he affected was lavish and excessive: the expense of his table only, furnished with the rarest fruits and most exquisite dainties, was, on ordinary days, estimated at 800 rubles. In the depth of winter he forestalled all the cherries produced by a tree in a green-house at a ruble each. He possessed an immense quantity of jewels, some of which he had scarcely seen

and little regarded since the moment they were brought to him. During a fit of caprice, he one day, affecting a dislike to his diamonds, had them all sold: some time after, the desire of possessing them having returned, he ordered that they should be bought in, on all sides, at whatever expense. His levee was more crowded than that of the empress: all Russia was at his feet. Seated among twenty ladies, like a sultan in his haram, with a sullen and downcast look, he spoke to no one, except at long intervals and in monosyllables. Among the princes of Russia, superior to him in birth, his title was *the prince* by way of excellence. *The prince*, as has been related, had a defect in one of his eyes: a report was one day sent to him by the hands of a one-eyed colonel; this accidental circumstance he interpreted into a designed insult, and resented with puerile extravagance. A foreigner, a major in the Russian service, having in a poetical compliment praised, in the same stanza with the sultana of *the prince*, the mistress of his secretary, received from the indignant lover a violent box on the ear. All those who paid their court to him were treated with great arrogance: in public he has sometimes taken a Russian general by the collar, and sometimes inflicted blows on his general officers. Yet he knew where liberties might be taken with impunity. Major-generals performed for him the offices of valets; but this, if they were content to pay the price, proved no obstacle to their promotion. Of the army he was absolute lord. A lady, known at Petersburgh, whose husband had a place at court, said that she meant to pass the summer at Yassy with *the prince*, who had presented to her an estate of 2000 rubles per annum. He discovered a childish eagerness in procuring every thing the most costly of its kind: he possessed ten or twelve violins of exorbitant price, one of which was valued at 6000 rubles: yet he never in his life had played on a violin: after the moment of their purchase they were no longer regarded, but were left to be spoiled by the dust or gnawed by the rats. Some person speaking before him of a library, he boasted the possession of one more valuable than could be shown by the most learned man in Europe. A book-case was accordingly thrown open, in which appeared several shelves of books: on examination they were found to be boxes gilt and lettered on the backs, filled with bank assignats, and rouleaux of imperials

and ducats to an immense amount. Surfeiting in prosperity, he thirsted, like the fabled Tantalus, amidst the waters by which he was nearly overwhelmed.

Though severe towards the officers, he flattered the soldiery, among whom he relaxed all discipline; if by the former he was detested, of the latter he was the idol. It is pretended that this conduct was a concerted scheme between Potemkin and the empress; aware that in Russia the soldiery only can effect a revolution, discord was sown between the officers and the troops, that the former might, on an emergency, be sacrificed at the first signal.

Extraordinary projects of aggrandizement have been attributed to Potemkin, among which may be mentioned that of excluding from the throne the grand-duke and his sons, and of placing on the head of the eldest of the grand-dutchesses the imperial crown, espousing her, and reigning in her name. During his stay at Petersburgh in 1791, between four and five months, he expended more than 1,200,000 rubles. An entertainment which he gave at his palace (since his death called the Pantheon) realized in splendour and effect the tales of enchantment, and is worthy of a particular description.

A month was employed in preparations: artists of every kind were engaged; whole shops and warehouses were exhausted for the occasion. Hundreds of persons assembled daily to rehearse their several parts; each day was in itself a grand spectacle. The moment of exhibition at length arrived. Notice was given that the empress and the imperial family would honour the entertainment with their presence: the court, the foreign ministers, the nobility, and people of condition in the city were invited as guests. The company, in masquerade habits, assembled at six in the evening. On a signal given, as the empress ascended her carriage, the treat for the populace was opened before the palace. Piles of clothing of every article, pyramids of provisions, and a plentiful supply of liquors, were surrendered to a general scramble. As Catherine entered the vestibule of the Tauridan palace, loud music, struck up from the lofty galleries, resounded through the saloon and spacious halls. The orchestra consisted of six hundred performers, who mingled their voices with the instruments. The empress, advancing to the great saloon attended by a

brilliant concourse, took her seat on a gentle elevation, decorated with transparent representations; the company dividing among the colonades and boxes. Four and twenty couple of noble and beautiful youths of both sexes, among whom were the grand-dukes Alexander and Constantine, commenced the dances with a quadrille. Habited in white, the dresses of the dancers were distinguishable only by the colours of their scarfs and girdles. The value of their habits was estimated at ten millions of rubles. Vocal and instrumental music accompanied the dance: a solo by the celebrated la Picque concluded the scene.

The company then proceeded to a hall hung with tapestry of the most costly kind: an artificial elephant, decorated with rubies and emeralds, was here exhibited. The Persian who led him struck upon a bell as a signal for a new scene; when a curtain, flying up as by magic, discovered a theatre magnificently adorned, where a dramatical piece and two ballets, afforded to the spectators a splendid entertainment. The music, the dancing, the pomp, and grandeur, the diversity of national dresses, in their most pleasing costume, gratified at once every sense. After the play, the company divided into several apartments: magnificent illuminations every where charmed and dazzled the eye: the columns and walls appeared to glow with variegated fires, in lamps of every colour: large mirrors, artfully disposed in the form of pyramids and grottoes, multiplied the splendors: every room was a blaze of glory.

Six hundred persons sat down to a table furnished with suitable magnificence, while the remaining company were entertained at side-boards: the covers and utensils were universally of silver or gold. Various coloured vases, in which lamps were inserted, lighted the table. Servants and domestics superbly habited attended the company: nothing which could gratify the palate of the epicurean, or flatter the most refined voluptuary, was wanting.

The empress did honour to her host by infringing her general rule, and remaining at the entertainment till midnight, that she might not disturb the enjoyments of the company. On her return through the vestibule, the choir of voices chanted a hymn to her praise. Surprised and affected at this circumstance, Catherine turned to the prince, who, overpowered

by his emotions, fell at her feet, and, seizing her hand, bedewed it with his tears. A gloomy foreboding seemed to shake his frame, an expression of anguish overspread his countenance: his fortunes arrived at their height, a presentiment appeared to seize him that his glory was passing away, and that this was the last moment which he had to spend in the magnificent theatre of his grandeur, the last tribute of gratitude he should pay in presence of the assembled court, at the feet of his august benefactress.

Wearied with prosperity and pleasure, satiated with the attainment of every wish, his spirits were exhausted: hope was extinct in fruition; the spirit of activity was fled; languor clouded his intellects; depression enfeebled his mind; and life itself became to the minion of fortune, the spoiled and enervated votary of voluptuousness, a loathed burthen. During the long evenings of winter, he would sit alone, and, like an infant, occupy himself for hours in placing and replacing his diamonds on a table covered with black velvet: sometimes he would weigh them, sometimes pour them from one hand to the other, or, throwing them carelessly from him, would pace for hours up and down his apartment, biting his nails, absorbed in thought, or lost in vacuity, though twenty persons might be present. His house, with all its splendor, exhibited a scene of confusion: the visitor might wander through a suite of apartments without meeting a single domestic to take his name; neither bread nor water was at times to be had in his kitchens, but of *petit-patés* and champagne there was always an abundant supply. This picture may afford to the voluptuary and the prosperous a striking lesson, and to the philosopher an interesting subject of reflection.

Yet Potemkin was a man of talents, had grand and extensive views, and his death was a real loss to the empress. He possessed a thorough knowledge of his country and his countrymen, and a penetration that seized at once the character of his own and of foreign nations, though he had never been out of the Russian empire. In ceasing to be the favoured lover of Catherine, he lost not his influence, but through life maintained himself in absolute power. His ascendency over the mind of his sovereign was not to be weakened by the cabals of his successors; in a country prone to revolution he stood alone, firm

and self-supported. His character has the praise of uniformly patronizing his friends, while with the ruin of an enemy no one could charge him.

Some time in the year 1787, having ordered Plutarch to be read to him, he listened with attention to the life of Agesilaus and the narration of his conquests. 'Think you,' said he, interrupting the reader, after appearing thoughtful for some moments; 'think you that, at some future period, I could go to Constantinople?' 'If the sovereign pleases,' replied the person addressed, 'there is no *impossibility* to prevent you from doing so.' 'That is enough,' returned the prince; 'if any one should come to-day and tell me that I *could not* go thither, I would shoot myself through the head.' He even meditated an attack on China: it was his opinion that a body of 10,000 Russians could march through the Chinese empire. But death put a stop to his extravagant projects and insatiable ambition.

He discovered no small degree of political dexterity in detaching France from Turkey, and in inducing her to concur with Russia. The news of the French revolution, respecting which he was sometimes observed talking to himself, with great eagerness and gesticulation, and in broken sentences, appeared deeply to affect him.

After a stay of five months in Petersburgh, Potemkin quitted it, with a presentiment that he should never return, and repaired to the army: his forebodings, without having recourse to a miracle, were sufficiently justified and accounted for by the irregularity of his life, and the consequent depression of his spirits. Satiated with prosperity, sickened with grandeur, and weary of triumph, he was listless and disquieted; his sighs betrayed the sadness of his mind: the bounties of his sovereign, and the flatteries of his courtiers, served but to irritate rather than to gratify him: the presence of the new favourite, Plato Zuboff, had also become odious to him.

Momonoff, the predecessor of Plato, had not made to the partiality of his sovereign an adequate return: his heart wandered to the charms of a young damsel of the court. This fair-one had also been distinguished by Potemkin: Momonoff, alarmed at the idea of so formidable a rival, threw off the re-

serve he had hitherto maintained, pleaded his cause before the lady, and obtained the preference. Their connexion became known to the court. Catherine only remained in ignorance of the infidelity of her lover; to which, however, her attention was, by the jealousy of the courtiers, speedily directed. Though offended by this discovery, she concealed for a time her sentiments. These events occurred during the summer of 1789, when the court was at Tzar-sko-selo, where the daughter of count Bruce, one of the richest heiresses of the empire, had just been presented.

Catherine, availing herself of this opportunity, informed Momonoff that she intended he should marry the young countess Bruce. The favourite, alarmed at the intimation, implored her not to insist on his compliance with this proposal; and, on her insisting to be informed of the reasons of his reluctance, fell at her feet, confessing that he had already plighted his faith. Catherine desired no farther explanation: the lovers were married on the next day, when they set off for Moscow. A curious story is added to this account. Momonoff, bound to the empress by every tie of gratitude, dishonourably and indiscreetly imparted to his wife circumstances of delicacy which respected his connexion with the sovereign: these the lady divulged with unpardonable levity. This imprudence is said to have been severely expiated. When Momonoff and his bride had, on the night of their nuptials, retired to their chamber, the master of the police at Moscow suddenly entered the apartment, where, having shown the new married pair an order from the empress, he left them in the hands of six women, and retired to an adjoining chamber. These six women, or rather six men habited as women, ministers of the wrath of Catherine, seized the lady, and, in the presence of her husband, whom they compelled to witness on his knees the ceremony, inflicted on her with rods the discipline of flagellation, an admirable but severe cure for tattling and scandal! The chastisement concluded, the police-master re-entered: 'This,' said he, 'is the method by which the empress punishes a first indiscretion. For the second, Siberia awaits the delinquent.'

On the day of the marriage of Momonoff, the post of favourite was conferred on Plato Zuboff, an officer in the horse-guards. Potemkin heard with concern on whom the

election of Catherine had fallen, and in a letter to her majesty, employed every argument to dissuade her from her choice. But, from the period of his elevation, Zuboff was too assiduous to please to fear a rival. The suit of Potemkin was rejected, though he desisted not for some time from his importunities.

By the death of the emperor Joseph II. Russia was left to contend alone with the Ottomans: the successor of Joseph, yielding to the solicitations of Prussia, and to the exigences of his people, was in haste to conclude with the Porte a separate peace. Deserted by her ally, Catherine began to perceive that her victories were ruinous; while, too proud to sue for a peace of which she felt the necessity, her armies continued their conquests. Great Britain, which had incited the Turks to declare war against Russia, now proposed to itself an advantage in being the mediator of an accommodation. Catherine, on this occasion, maintained the same character of haughty independence which she had supported through the war; and, though determined on concluding a peace with the Turks, managed to obtain the most advantageous conditions. Mr. Fawkener, the English minister, felt her power, and was baffled by her address.

During this negotiation, a traveller, connected both by blood and friendship with the illustrious leader of the opposition party in the British parliament, appeared at Petersburgh. The empress seized this opportunity of showing a marked disrespect to the English minister. To the traveller she gave, in the presence of his countryman, the place of honour on her right hand; and, on the arrangement of the peace, her presents to the relation of Mr. Fox, of whom, as an orator and a statesman, she expressed her admiration, exceeded in number and value those conferred upon the ambassador. The preliminaries of peace were signed January 9th, 1791. It has been calculated, that Austria lost in this war 130,000 men, and expended three hundred millions of florins. Russia 200,000 men, with two hundred millions of rubles. The Turks 330,000 men, with two hundred and fifty millions of piastres. At such an immense expense of blood and treasure are the games of sovereigns decided. The empress, after signing the treaty, gave up, by an act of imperial generosity, her claim to the twelve mil-

lions of piastres which the Porte had stipulated to pay to her, as an indemnification for the expenses of the war.

Potemkin was prevented from being present at the conclusion of the peace, by an epidemical fever, with which he was seized at Yassy, where the congress met. On the news of his sickness, the empress sent from Petersburgh to his assistance two of the most experienced physicians. But the prince, disdaining advice, would conform to no regimen. His intemperance was singular and excessive: the greater part of a smoke-dried goose from Hamburg, slices of ham or hung-beef, with a quantity of wine and liquors, was his ordinary breakfast. He dined with equal voracity: in every species of gratification his appetites were uncontrouled. Sterlet-soup was his favourite dish; which at all seasons must be procured, however enormous the price. This prelude to his dinner frequently cost him 300 rubles. He one day, in a fit of caprice, dispatched a major from Yassy to Petersburgh, for a tureen of his favourite soup, made by the hand of a capital artist. The dish, before it reached the prince, had travelled post near 200 versts. His officers have been frequently sent from the Krimea to Petersburgh, and even to Riga, for oysters or china-oranges, on their first arrival at those ports.

That the fever should gain ground with this intemperance is little wonderful, but he hoped to escape it by removing from Yassy. Having set out for Nicolayeff, a town which he had built at the confluence of the Ingoul with the Bogue, he had scarcely proceeded three leagues, when his disorder becoming aggravated, exhibited the most fatal symptoms. He alighted from his carriage in the midst of the highway, threw himself on the grass, and expired under a tree, in the arms of the countess Branika, his favourite niece. His death took place in his fifty-third year, October 15th, 1791. His remains were transported to Kerson, where they were interred: an hundred thousand rubles was allotted by the empress for the erection of a mausoleum.

His character appears to have been no less singular than the circumstances in which he was placed, and to have united in itself apparent contrarieties. He was at once ostentatious and avaricious, despotic and popular, beneficent and inflexible, haughty and affable, frank and politic, superstitious and profli-

gate. Lavish to his favourites, while his creditors and his household remained unpaid. Depending on women, yet always unfaithful, the activity of his mind was equalled only by the indolence of his body. Nothing could appal his courage, nothing compel him to abandon his projects; while, in success, disgust invariably seized him. Wearied at all he performed, and sickening at all that was performed by others, he loathed existence as an intolerable burthen. He neither loved occupation, nor enjoyed repose: without order and without method, all his pursuits were desultory. In society, while he appeared himself embarrassed, his presence imposed on every one a constraint: morose to those who depended on him; familiar and caressing where his interest was concerned. Promising every thing, never forgetting, yet seldom keeping his word. Without reading, his knowledge, though not profound, was extensive: he conversed with scholars, with artists, and with mechanics; drew forth the talents of each, and appropriated them to himself. Without penetrating into any deeply, he spoke well upon all subjects.

His conduct was not less various than his character; ambition and retirement, war and policy, building up and pulling down, business and pleasure, avarice and prodigality, by turns employed his thoughts, and occupied his time. Ever actuated by caprice, his actions and his inclinations had no apparent cause. His singularities and his humours alternately offended and interested the empress: in his youth he flattered her passions; in his maturer years he aided her ambition, and soothed her pride. As a lover, he had performed all the extravagances which the most romantic passion could inspire: banished by his rival from the presence of his sovereign, he ran to meet death in battle, and returned with glory. He had put out one of his eyes to free it from a blemish which diminished his beauty. When no longer acceptable to his mistress as a favourite, he became her friend, her confident, her minister, and her general. The alliance of Catherine with Joseph II. was the consequence of his persuasions; the subsequent conquests in the Krimea, the splendid progress of the empress, the victories over the Ottomans, the conquest of Otchakoff, were all the instruments and the triumphs of his ambition: the grand riband of St. George, the only decoration wanting to his vanity,

crowned the career of his prosperity, and the termination of his life was not far distant. He died almost by a sudden stroke. His death, lamented by a small number of friends, while his rivals eagerly divided his spoils, was in a little time remembered no more: his triumphs and his services sank in oblivion.

"His life," says the artist, by whom his portrait was drawn, "resembled the rapid passage of a meteor; dazzling, but unsubstantial. He began every thing, completed nothing, disordered the finances, disorganized the army, depopulated his country, and enriched it with new deserts. In his mind, as in his country, were cultivated districts and barren plains: it partook of the Asiatic, of the European, of the Tartarian, and of the Kozac; the rudeness of the eleventh century, and the corruption of the eighteenth; the surface of the arts, and the ignorance of the cloister; an outside of civilization amidst the traces of barbarism. He had great defects, but without them, probably, he would never have obtained the mastery of his sovereign, nor that over his country. He was made by chance precisely what he ought to have been for preserving so long his power over a woman of so extraordinary a character."

On the death of her favourite Lanskoï, Catherine, abandoned to sorrow, and indifferent to the world, shut herself up in her apartment: on that of Potemkin, she also retired from company, but it was to employ herself in the administration of the empire. She was busied for fifteen hours in dividing among her ministers the affairs and employments which had belonged to the deceased prince. Plato Zuboff, her last favourite, till this period an utter stranger to business, was now solicitous to take a part in the ministry. On this occasion, Markoff undertook to be his guide, and was recompensed by the favour of the sovereign, added to the confidence of the favourite. It was in a council composed of Zuboff, Markoff, the minister of war, and others, that the annihilation of Poland, long since proposed by Catherine, as an offering to her pride and her revenge, was finally determined. The ministers promoted with eagerness the plan, in the hope of sharing the spoils of the unhappy Poles. Catherine had never forgiven Poland the diet of 1788, by which the constitution, dictated by force, of 1775, was abrogated. To this offence, those of the alliance with Prussia, accepted in contempt of her own, and the constitu-

tion of 1791, decreed at Warsaw, were added. The moment of vengeance was arrived: Bulgakoff, her minister at Warsaw, had orders solemnly to declare war against the Poles. The declaration was received in the diet, not merely with firmness, but a generous enthusiasm. The sentiment diffused itself through the nation; even the king affected the same indignant ardour. The sickening details of the various actions by which the plains of this ill-fated country were drenched in blood, must here be briefly passed over; suffice it to say, that in their disunion the unhappy Poles found their destruction. It was in these conflicts that Kosciusko displayed talents that, obtaining the confidence of the nation, and exciting the admiration of Europe, provoked the hatred of Russia.

Catherine, in effecting her purpose, called in negotiation to the aid of force: to Frederic William she proposed the definitive partition of Poland; while she secretly brought over to her party those whose interests appeared to favour her views. To Stanislaus Augustus she insisted, that he should make a public declaration of the necessity of yielding to the Russian arms: the miserable monarch submitted to this indignity, which procured for him no greater indulgences.

At Grodno the confederated partizans of Russia assembled; when the Russian general seated himself under the canopy of the throne which he was about to overthrow. The minister of Catherine published, at the same time, a manifesto, in which he declared the resolution of the empress to incorporate with her domains all the territory of Poland which her arms had conquered. Her soldiers, dispersed among the provinces, committed ravages of which history furnishes but few examples, while Warsaw became a theatre of their excesses. The disorders of the troops were connived at by their general, who made the country groan under his barbarous arrogance. Their property seized upon, themselves reduced to servitude, the wretched inhabitants, rendered desperate by calamity, once more determined on resistance. Having assembled together, an invitation was sent to Kosciusko, who had retired to Leipsic with three friends, to return and place himself at their head.

These four Poles hesitated not to accept the call of their countrymen; but, to succeed, they felt it would be proper to

commence their operations by giving liberty to the peasants, who had been treated in Poland like beasts of burthen. Their measures were planned and taken; the Russian yoke was borne with impatience; every thing seemed ripe for insurrection. Kosciusko was received by the Poles as their deliverer, and, joined by some officers, proclaimed general of their scanty forces. Three hundred peasants, armed with scythes, ranged themselves under his standard. To this little army, consisting of 3000 infantry and 1200 horse, 7000 Russians having opposed themselves, they were defeated and put to flight. On this check, the Russian general arrested all those suspected of being concerned in the insurrection; a measure which served but to irritate the people. The rebellion broke out, and two thousand of their tyrants were slaughtered by the Poles. The general, besieged in his house, and refusing to capitulate, found means to escape to the Prussian camp. The provinces followed the example of the capital, but their vengeance was less terrible and sanguinary.

Kosciusko strained every nerve to augment his army: to inspire the peasants, among whom he got recruits, with emulation, he wore their dress, partook of their diet, and distributed encouragements among them. These men, degraded by slavery, and distrusting the nobles, were not yet prepared for freedom. Stanislaus caballed in favour of Russia, whose troops, strengthened by the Prussians, poured into Poland. Frederic William, at the head of his forces, fought against Kosciusko, whose talents, courage, and despair, were unavailing against multiplied and increasing numbers. The greater part of his army were cut to pieces, or compelled to lay down their arms: himself, covered with honourable wounds, fell senseless on the field, and was captured by the enemy. The remnant that escaped the conquerors, shut themselves up in the suburbs of Prague, whither they were pursued by Suvaroff. The siege was short, and the carnage horrible: without distinction of age or sex, every inhabitant was mowed down by the sword: twenty thousand persons satiated with their blood the savage conqueror of Ismail, who, trampling on the necks of its inhabitants, and reeking from the gore of their countrymen, entered Warsaw in triumph. Such are the trophies of despotism—such the triumphs of ambition!

The courts of Petersburgh and Berlin divided at their pleasure the remains of this unhappy country; while the courtiers of Catherine shared among them the possessions of the proscribed. The pageant monarch, the creature of her power, was sent to Grodno, and condemned to live obscurely, on a pension granted to him by the empress; while the Russian governor of the usurped provinces displayed ostentatiously the pomp and the pride of a sovereign.

The friends of the brave and generous Kosciusko were, with their general, conveyed to Petersburgh, and shut up in dungeons. Among these was the young poet Niemchevitch, distinguished for his valour and his talents, the friend of Kosciusko, with whom he was wounded and taken. His offence against Catherine had been two-fold; he had not only dared to defend his country, but, with all the boldness and energy of satire, he had presumed to compose verses against its destroyer. In the citadel of Petersburgh, and afterwards under severer durance, at Schlusselburg, he had leisure to repent his temerity.

Catherine, greatly interested in the French revolution, appeared full of apprehension lest its principles should find their way into Russia, and subvert the sentiments on which her authority was established: to the emigrants she gave a welcome reception, while she proscribed those who dared to avow bolder and more novel opinions. The king of Sweden received from her the promise of an annual subsidy, and 12,000 soldiers, to assist in restoring to his dignity the French monarch. This engagement, made with a view of accelerating the moment of the confederation of kings, and of exciting her rivals to mutual destruction, she however found means to elude. The assassination of Gustavus precluded the execution of his chivalrous enterprise, and quieted for ever his restless spirit. A short time previous to this catastrophe, the emperor of Germany, Leopold II. died also at Vienna.

The French emigrants, distressed by the loss of these chiefs of the confederacy, fled in numbers to Petersburgh, where they implored assistance, but obtained only promises. The ambassador of France quitted Petersburgh: Catherine, while she censured his opinions, did justice to his talents, to

his virtues, and to the amenity of his manners. 'I am an *aristocrat*,' said she to him, on his taking leave, 'for I must carry on my business.' She recalled her ambassador from Paris, refused the *chargé d'affaires* of France access to her court, and prohibited his conferences with her ministers. Her animosity extended even to Colonel l'Harpe, preceptor to the young princes, a Swiss and a philosopher, who cherished in his heart the love of freedom. The bust of her favourite Voltaire was degraded, nor was that of the English patriot suffered to keep its place. The French in her dominions were compelled, like Hannibal, to swear *immortal* hatred against the new republic; and to take an oath of allegiance to the pretender to the French monarchy. It is yet a curious fact, that the son of count Esterhazy, an emigrant, used, at the desire of Catherine, to sing the French patriotic songs at the Hermitage; which sometimes resounded with the *Carmagnol* and *Ca ira*.

Two parties divided the court; at the head of one was the old count Osterman, the Vorentzoffs, &c. who sheltered themselves under the name of the grand-duke. The other was supported by Zuboff, Markoff, &c. The father, the three brothers, and the sister of the favourite, were all provided for by the bounty of the sovereign. Ministers, generals, ambassadors, as the most effectual means of conciliating the favour of the empress, paid their court to Zuboff, who, with the most servile adulation, united in himself all the privileges and authority of his predecessors. Catherine, notwithstanding her advanced age, kept a vigilant eye over her cabinet; and employed herself some hours every day with her ministers, in attending to affairs of the state.

About this period (1794), she concluded with Great Britain a new treaty of commerce; and, by the publication of two edicts, prohibited the importation of French merchandize. The English obtained even yet more, the promise of a Russian squadron to join their fleet.

The marriage of one of her grand-daughters with the young king of Sweden, a prince of great promise, had become with Catherine a favourite project. The death of the king his father, the regency of the duke of Sudermania during the minority of the prince, and the intrigues of the court of Petersburgh in Stockholm, had produced a breach between the

two courts, which appeared to be aggravated from day to day. An union was even negotiated between the young Gustavus and a princess of the house of Mecklenburg. Catherine on this occasion testified great displeasure, while the misunderstanding seemed to arrive at its height. At this instant, a French emigrant made his appearance at Stockholm, charged with secret powers to bring about an accommodation. His negotiation proved successful; an embassy from the empress followed; the young king was disposed to repudiate the German princess, and to espouse the grand-daughter of Catherine. As a preliminary to this measure, he was engaged not to exact of his consort a conformity to the Swedish church: to this was added an invitation to visit Petersburgh.

The empress was gratified; the king, attended by the regent, the minister, and a train of courtiers, repaired to the court of Catherine, who entertained them with her accustomed magnificence. She appeared at their first interview delighted with the young Gustavus; who, seventeen years of age, tall, finely formed, with an air at once sensible, noble, and mild, united to the graces of youth, the dignity and intelligence of maturer years. His manners were simple, courteous, and manly; he appeared to speak with reflection, and displayed knowledge and information beyond his age. On his presentation to Catherine, he attempted to kiss her hand; 'No,' said she, withdrawing it, 'I cannot forget that the count Von Haya is a king.' 'If your majesty,' replied Gustavus gallantly, 'will not give me permission as empress, at least allow me this favour as a lady to whom I owe so much respect and admiration.' The king appeared affected by the kindness of the empress, but his sensations became yet more interesting in the presence of the young grand-dutchess. Alexandria Paulina had scarcely completed her fourteenth year, her tall and elegant figure, fair complexion, light flaxen hair waiving in ringlets on her shoulders, regular features, and modest aspect, made a lively impression on the heart of the young monarch; which her innocence, candour, sensibility, and talents, on a farther acquaintance, contributed to strengthen. The princess Mecklenburg was quickly forgotten; proposals of marriage were immediately made, and a day fixed for the celebration of the espousals.

The only difficulty which presented itself on this occasion was that of religion: Catherine consulted the archbishop, whether her grand-daughter might abjure the orthodox faith: 'Your majesty is all-powerful,' was the only answer. The national pride of Russia was to be flattered by making a queen of Sweden of the Greek church. The regent appeared to be gained, and the enamoured king completely dazzled; a retreat was scarcely dreaded. With this persuasion Catherine left to her favourite ministers the drawing up of the contract.

In the mean time the day arrived for the public betrothment of the enamoured pair. The young princess, in her bridal attire, the empress and her court were already assembled; the bridegroom only was missing, whose tardiness was a subject of surprise. The contract and articles of alliance had been purposely withheld till an hour previous to that appointed for the solemnity. But Gustavus perceived and resisted the snare: he declared that no restraint should be imposed on the conscience of the princess; but insisted on an outward conformity to the established laws of Sweden. The conflict was severe; the moment critical; but the principles of the youthful monarch triumphed over his passions: a noble and rare example. The importunities of the Russian ministers, the solicitation of the Swedes gained over to the cause, by whom he was surrounded; even the interference of the regent, failed in shaking the resolution of the young hero! 'No, no; I will not; I cannot; I will never sign them,' exclaimed he; and, vexed at their pertinacity, after again repeating his determination never to violate the laws of his country, hastened from them, and shut himself in his apartment.

The court had assembled at seven in the evening, nor separated till ten, when all hope of accommodation appeared at an end. Catherine sickened at the disappointment and mortification; her speech faltered, she was near fainting, and even had a slight fit, the precursor of one more fatal. The young princess abandoned herself to the most lively grief, which was followed by a serious illness. Pleasure and festivity was at an end; all was restraint, gloom, and embarrassment. A compromise was attempted but produced little effect. The lovers were separated; Gustavus quitted Petersburgh. Catherine remained overcome with chagrin; while the heart of the young

Alexandra experienced the bitterness of the first sorrows of love.

One half of Poland, the Krimea, the Kuban, and a part of the frontiers of Turkey, had yielded to the arms or the intrigues of Catherine; but for the usurpation of another rich and populous country she had no need of battles: for the conquest of Courland and Semigallia her intrigues proved sufficient. The nobles were gained over by her emissaries; the people, to elude her oppressions, with which they were wearied out, accepted her protection. The reigning duke, under the pretence of an important conference, was seduced to Petersburgh; when advantage was taken of his absence to subjugate his domains. The possessions of the proscribed were bestowed on the courtiers of Catherine, and her favourites were enriched with the spoils. The acquisition of Courland proved, from its corn and timber, and its ports on the Baltic, a valuable prize to Russia.

Unsatiated with empire, perpetual measures were taken by Catherine for the annexing to her dominions new kingdoms and states, whose miserable inhabitants, were, on resistance, despoiled of the heritage of their fathers, and driven from their native soil.

The empress was at length induced, by the solicitations of her favourite, to fulfil her promise of assistance to the powers confederated against France. A sqadron was appointed by her to join the English navy, yet not without a view to the interest of Russia. Her ships were, by a stipulation, to be provisioned at the expense of her ally, and returned back in thorough repair: by this treaty her raw mariners were disciplined, and her crazy vessels, which would scarcely bear the sea, completely refitted.

Her grandson Alexander having been married by Catherine to the princess Louisa of Baden Durlach, she became also desirous of choosing a wife for Constantine. With this view the three daughters of the prince of Saxe-Coburg were invited to her court, and the youngest selected for the consort of the prince.

But in quiet usurpations, in treaties, and alliances, her restless mind remained unsatisfied. Thirsting for conquest and inured to the din of war, she turned her arms against Persia.

At the head of a numerous force, the brother of the favourite penetrated into Daghestan, and laid siege to Derbent; the keys of which were delivered to him by the commandant, a venerable old man, 120 years of age, the same who, at the commencement of the century, had surrendered Derbent to Peter I. This triumph received some alloy in a subsequent defeat by the Persian army. But Catherine not discouraged, gave orders for the reinforcement of the troops, not doubting of their ultimate success.

The hope of obtaining a greater triumph also flattered her pride: the new treaty concluded with Austria and Great Britain secured to her the assistance of these powers against Turkey: elated with this idea, the period seemed approaching for the accomplishment of her darling plan, that of driving the Ottomans out of Europe, and of reigning in Constantinople. Already, in idea, arrived at the summit of her ambition, her visions of greatness experienced a sudden check. The magnificent Catherine was not immortal.

On the fourth day of November, 1796, the empress displayed, in what was called her *little hermitage* (a small party,) uncommon cheerfulness and vivacity. By a vessel from Lubeck she had received news of the French, under Moreau, having been obliged to repass the Rhine. She wrote on this occasion the following humourous note to Cobenzel; the Austrian minister: " I hasten to inform your excellent excellence, that the excellent troops of the excellent court have given the French an excellent drubbing." She amused herself with rallying and laughing at her grand-ecuyer and first buffoon: but retired somewhat earlier than usual, assigning as a reason, that too much laughing had given her slight symptoms of the colic. She arose the next morning at her accustomed hour, and transacted business with her secretaries: on dismissing the last, she told him to wait in the antichamber, whence she would presently recal him. The secretary, having waited for some time, and hearing no noise in the apartment, began to grow uneasy. He at last opened the door, and beheld, to his surprise and terror, the empress stretched on the floor, between the two doors leading from the alcove to her closet. She was already without sense or motion. The secretary, on this spectacle ran to the favourite, whose apartment was above: physi-

cians were sent for, and an universal consternation prevailed. A mattress was spread near the window, on which Catherine was laid: bleeding, bathing, and every means usually resorted to on such occasions, were employed, by which some effect seemed to be produced. She was still alive, but without any other perceptible motion or sign than the beating of her heart. Every one was eager to dispatch a messenger to Paul: the brother of the favourite was the person employed in this service. The situation of the empress was, till eleven o'clock, her accustomed hour of seeing her family, kept secret from the grand-dukes and from the household: every one feared to mention his apprehensions; her death was considered as the epoch of some extraordinary revolution; the court first, and presently the city, were in a state of the most alarming agitation.

The grand-duke was absent on the arrival of the messenger: six couriers met nearly in the same instant: Paul was, with his court, gone a few miles to inspect a mill constructed by his orders. On receiving the intelligence, he appeared to be affected; asked a thousand questions, gave instant orders for his journey, and proceeded rapidly to Petersburgh; where, arriving with his consort at eight in the evening, he found the palace in confusion. The courtiers crowded around him; the favourite, a pray to grief and terror, had relinquished the reins of empire.

Paul, accompanied by his family, repaired to the chamber of his mother; who, without showing any consciousness, still existed. The young princes and princesses, dissolved in tears, formed around their grandmother an affecting group. The grand-dutchesses, the gentlemen and ladies of the court, remained through the night waiting the last sigh of the empress: the following day passed in the same anxious solicitude. Catherine, still breathing, remained in a kind of lethargy; she even moved one of her feet, and pressed the hand of one of her women. About ten in the evening she appeared suddenly to revive; a terrible rattling was heard in her throat; the family crowded round her; when, uttering a piercing shriek, she expired, thirty-seven hours after her first seizure. She betrayed no symptom of pain till the moment before her decease: a prosperous life was terminated by a happy death.

Zuboff, the favourite, was, by this event, which hurled him at once from the pinnacle of power to his original obscurity, overwhelmed with an unfeigned sorrow. The young grand-dutchesses bewailed in their grandmother the source whence all their pleasures flowed. The ladies and courtiers who had enjoyed her private society, and experienced the captivation of her manners, paid a tribute of tears to her loss: the happy evenings of the hermitage, the freedom and pleasure which Catherine so well knew how to diffuse, were contrasted by them with the military constraint and formal etiquette which were likely to succeed. The domestics of the empress sincerely mourned a good and generous mistress, whose mild and equal temper, superior to petty caprices or sudden gusts of passion, whose noble and dignified character, had rendered their services equally easy and pleasant. Catherine, as the mother of her family and household, as the patroness of her court, and the benefactress of her friends, merited the tears that embalmed her memory. The changes that followed under the administration of her son made her still more regretted.

She still retained, though seventy years of age, the vestiges of beauty. She was of the middle stature, and, carrying her head high, appeared tall: her hair was auburn, her eyebrows dark, and her eyes blue: her countenance, though not deficient in expression, never betrayed what passed in her mind; a mistress of dissimulation, she knew how to command her features. She became corpulent as she advanced in years, yet her carriage was graceful and dignified. In private she inspired, by her conciliatory manners, confidence and good humour; youth, playfulness, and gaiety appeared to surround her. But in public, and on proper occasions, she knew how to assume the empress, to appear "*the Semiramis of the North*," and to awe by her frowns. She usually dressed in the Russian mode. She wore a green gown or vest,* with close sleeves reaching to the wrist: her hair lightly powdered, and flowing upon her shoulders, was crowned with a small cap covered with diamonds: in the latter periods of her life she put on a great quantity of rouge. In her habits and diet she was strictly

* Green is the national colour of Russia.

temperate: she took a light breakfast, ate a moderate dinner, and had no supper.

The estimate of her character must be formed from her actions: her reign was perhaps for her people rather brilliant than happy. Within the circle of her influence, her government was moderate and benign; at a distance, terrible and despotic: under the protection of her favourites, justice, order, and law, were sometimes violated, and the most odious tyranny practised with impunity. Her situation in the empire, delicate, and often critical, restrained her judgment; it was by suffering her power to be abused that she was enabled to preserve it; she knew how to reward, but dared not always punish.

For her licentiousness as a *woman* no excuse can be offered; as a sovereign she must be allowed the title of *great*. If her love of glory too often assumed the features of a destructive ambition, the praise of an enlightened and magnanimous mind cannot be denied to her.

It has been well observed, that the splendor of her reign, the magnificence of her court, her institutions, her monuments, and her victories, were to Russia what the age of Louis XIV. had been to Europe: as an individual, the character of Catherine had a better title to great. The French formed the glory of Louis, Catherine that of the Russians: she reigned not like him over a polished people, nor had she his advantages. She had a nation to form, and her measures were her own: however deceived or seduced, she suffered not herself to be governed. Humane and generous, cheerful and amiable, she constituted the happiness of those who surrounded her. Her active and regular life, her firmness, courage and sobriety, were moral qualities of no mean value: corrupted by prosperity, and intoxicated with success, her crimes of a darker hue were those of her station rather than of her heart. The barbarous country over which she reigned, the grossness of its manners, and the difficulties with which she had to struggle, must not be forgotten in forming an estimate of her character. Whatever may have been her faults, and doubtless they were great, her genius, her talents, her courage, and her success, must ever entitle her to a high rank among those women whose qualities and attainments have thrown a lustre on their sex.

She aspired to the character of an author, to which by her celebrated *Instructions for a Code of Laws*, her dramatic pieces and proverbs, her tales and allegories for the improvement of her grand-children, she is justly entitled. Among the productions of her pen, her Letters to Voltaire are accounted the most interesting. She composed also for the imperial family a plan of education, compiled principally from the writings of Locke and Rousseau, which reflects infinite credit on her liberality and discernment.

There are few reigns more interesting than that of Catherine, more strictly biographical; few that involve more important principles, that afford a wider scope, or that more forcibly tend to awaken reflection. Let this be an apology for a diffuseness that may seem to form an exception to the limits allowed to individuals by the nature of the present work.

Life of Catherine II.—Secret Memoirs of the Court of St. Petersburgh, &c. &c.

LADY ELIZABETH CAREW.

This lady, the author of a dramatic piece entitled "Mariam, the fair queen of Jewry" (4to, 1613), lived in the reign of James I. and is supposed by Oldys, in his MS. notes on Langbaine, to have been the wife of sir Henry Carew. The works of several of her contemporaries are dedicated to lady Carew.

SUSANNAH CENTLIVRE.

Susannah, daughter of Mr. Freeman, a gentleman of Holbeach, in Lincolnshire, was born in 1667. Her father, a dissenter zealously attached to the parliament, was at the period of the restoration compelled to fly into Ireland, when his estate, which was considerable, was forfeited. Her mother was the daughter of Mr. Markham, a gentleman of fortune at Lynn Regis in Norfolk, who, in consequence of his political principles, was involved in the same calamity. It is uncertain whether Susannah was born previous or subsequent to the

flight of her family. She unhappily lost her father in the third year of her age, nor did her mother survive many years. Before she had completed her twelfth year, Susannah found herself an orphan.

At a very early period of life she discovered a propensity to poetry, and is said to have composed a song before she was seven years of age. Having been treated with unkindness and severity by those under whose care she had been placed, she determined to leave the country, and to seek in London a happier destiny. Some obscurity at this period involves her life, to which an air of romance is given. She attempted, it appears, to put in practice her perilous enterprise alone and on foot, the consequences of which were such as might have been expected and forseen. On the road she met with Anthony Hammond, esq. (father of the celebrated author of the elegies), then a member of the university of Cambridge. Struck with her youth and beauty, this gentleman offered to her his protection. Induced by her forlorn circumstances and inexperience in life to accede to his proposal, she accompanied him to Cambridge, her sex disguised by the habit of a boy, and was introduced by her protector to his college acquaintance, as a relation desirous of spending with him some time in the university.

She remained with her seducer for some months, till, either wearied with his conquest or apprehensive of a discovery of the sex of his companion, he prevailed on her to go to London, for which purpose he provided her with a considerable sum of money, and a recommendatory letter to a lady of his acquaintance. On their parting, he gave her an assurance of speedily meeting her in town and renewing their intercourse.

This promise he however neglected to perform, yet, notwithstanding the disadvantages of her introduction into life, she married, in her sixteenth year, a nephew of sir Stephen Fox. This gentleman died within two years after their union. Soon after his decease, the youth and charms of his widow attracted a new lover, an officer of the name of Carrol, with whom she formed a second matrimonial engagement, and who was killed in a duel about a year and a half after their marriage.

To this gentleman she seems to have been tenderly attached, his death for a time overwhelmed her with affliction.

During her second widowhood, she was, by the narrowness of her circumstances, induced to become a candidate for dramatic fame. Her earlier pieces were published under the name of Carrol. Her first tragedy, "The Perjured Husband," was performed at Drury-lane, in 1700, and published in 4to the same year. In 1703 she produced "The Beau's Duel, or a Soldier for the Ladies," a comedy. Also "Love's Contrivances," principally translated from Moliere. The succeeding year she brought out "The Stolen Heiress, or the Salamanca Doctor outwitted," a comedy. In 1705, her comedy of "The Gamester," was acted at the theatre in Lincoln's-inn-fields, with great success. This piece has been since revived at Drury-lane. The plot was in a great measure taken from *Le Dissipateur*, a French comedy. The prologue was written by Mr. Rowe.

Not satisfied with her fame as a dramatic writer, she became ambitious of making a figure on the boards. In this department, it is probable, she proved less successful, as it does not appear that she ever exhibited at the theatres in the metropolis. In 1706 she performed at Windsor, where the court then resided, the part of Alexander the Great, in Lee's "Rival Queens." She captivated in this character the heart of Mr. Joseph Centlivre (principal cook to queen Anne), to whom she soon after gave her hand, and with whom she passed the remainder of her life in tranquillity.

She produced the same year the comedies of "The Basset Table," and "Love at a Venture." The latter was represented by the servants of the duke of Grafton, at the new theatre at Bath. Her most celebrated performance, "The Busy Body," was acted at Drury-lane in 1708. This play, afterwards so popular, was refused by the managers, nor were they prevailed upon to let it appear till towards the close of the season. Mr. Wilkes, even then, threw down at the rehearsal the part of Sir George Airy with contempt on the stage, while he declared 'that no audience would endure such stuff.' Notwithstanding these prognostics, the piece was received by the public with unbounded applause, and is still occasionally performed.

In 1711, "Marplot, or the Second Part of the Busy Body," was brought out. This performance, though inferior to that which had preceded it, was well received. The duke of Portland, to whom it was dedicated, presented the writer with forty guineas. In 1717, "A Bold Stroke for a Wife" was performed in Lincoln's-inn-fields. In the composition of this comedy the author was assisted by Mr. Mottley, who wrote one or two entire scenes. It was well received, and still keeps possession of the stage, in despite of the verdict pronounced against it by Mr. Wilkes, who in strong language swore, that not only the play would be certainly damned, but that Mrs. Centlivre herself deserved damnation for writing it.

Several other dramatic pieces were also written by this lady. In 1707, "The Platonic Lady," a comedy, was acted at the Haymarket, and published in 4to. The prologue was composed by Mr. Farquhar. "The Man's bewitched, or the Devil to do about her," a comedy, was also acted at the Haymarket, and printed in 4to, in 1710. "The Wonder, a Woman keeps a Secret," one of Mrs. Centlivre's best pieces, was performed at Drury-lane, in 1714. Mr. Garrick revived this comedy, with some alterations, and played himself the part of Don Felix. "Bickerstaff's Burying, or Work for the Upholsterers," a farce of three long scenes, was acted at the Haymarket, printed in 4to, in 1717, and dedicated "to the magnificent company of Upholsterers." "The Perplexed Lovers," a comedy, printed in 4to, 1712, was acted at Drury-lane. "Gotham Election," a farce of one long act, never performed, was printed in 12mo, 1715, and dedicated to Mr. Secretary Craggs, who complimented the author with twenty guineas. "A Wife well managed," a farce, acted at Drury-lane, was printed in 12mo, 1715. "The Cruel Gift, or Royal Resentment," a tragedy, was performed at Drury-lane, and printed in 12mo, 1717. "The Artifice," a comedy, acted at Drury-lane, was printed in 8vo, 1721.

In the Biographia Dramatica, it is observed of Mrs. Centlivre that, as a writer, it is not easy to estimate her rank. Her plays, of which the language sometimes is feeble and incorrect, do not abound with wit. But her plots are busy and well managed, and her characters natural and marked. If she is not, it

is added, allowed to rank as the first female dramatist, she deserves a place next to Mrs. Behn, her predecessor.

Mrs. Centlivre enjoyed the intercourse and esteem of many of the most eminent wits of her time, particularly of sir Richard Steele, Mr. Rowe, Dr. Sewell, and Mr. Farquhar. Eustace and Budgel were also of the number of her acquaintance. She unfortunately provoked the resentment of Mr. Pope, by having, as it is reported, written a ballad against his Homer before it appeared, in consequence of which she had a place in the Dunciad.

She died December 1, 1723, in Spring-garden, Charing-cross, and was interred at St. Martin's-in-the-fields. She possessed considerable personal beauty, great vivacity in conversation, with a benevolent and friendly temper. She appeared to inherit from her family their political principles: she professed herself in the most dangerous times of the whig party, and manifested a zeal for the House of Hanover which, breathed in her writings, procured her some friends and more enemies. Her acquirements were, amidst many disadvantages, the result of her own application: she is said to have understood the French, Spanish, and Dutch languages, and to have had some acquaintance with the Latin. A knowledge of men and manners is displayed in her dramatic productions. Her dramas were collected in 1761, and printed in three vols. 12mo. She composed also several poems, on various occasions, which, with a miscellaneous production, entitled "Letters of Wit, Politics, and Morality," were published by Mr. Boyer.

Biographia Britannica—Biographia Dramatica.

SUSANNA MARIA CIBBER.

This admirable actress, sister to the celebrated Dr. Thomas Augustus Arne, was the daughter of an upholsterer in Covent Garden. She first appeared on the stage as a vocal performer, when the sweetness of her voice, and the correctness of her judgment, rendered her a distinguished favourite with the public. In 1736 she made her *debut* as an actress, in the character of Zara, a tragedy written by Mr. Hill, at its first repre-

sentation in Drury-lane. Her performance on this occasion surprised and delighted her audience: the promise which she gave by her powers of being a valuable acquisition to the stage, was more than verified by her future excellence. Her figure, light and youthful, was formed with exquisite symmetry and grace; her countenance was agreeable and expressive, and her voice flexible, plaintive, and melodious. She possessed in an eminent degree that sensibility of character, and flexibility of muscles, which enabled her to conceive and express in her features every variety of passion, whether of tenderness or of rage, of softness or of pride. In every cast of tragic character she was exquisite, but in comedy her attempts were less successful.

In April, 1734, she gave her hand to Mr. Theophilus Cibber, to whom she was the second wife. The indiscretion and extravagance of her husband produced an embarrassment in their circumstances, through which, in the year 1738, they were obliged to make a short tour to the continent. Mrs. Cibber had formed an attachment with a young man of fortune, a friend of her husband's, who was suspected of having connived at his own dishonour, through base and interested views. On his return from France he first thought proper to notice this correspondence, and, having laid his damages at five thousand pounds, commenced a suit against the gentleman. So many circumstances of an equivocal nature, which respected the plaintiff, appeared on trial, that the jury gave a verdict only for ten pounds.

The creditors of Mr. Cibber, on this event, pouring in upon him, he was arrested, and, laden with public odium, thrown into the King's Bench prison. Mrs. Cibber continued to perform with increasing excellence, high reputation, and favour with the public. She afforded great delight whenever she appeared: in the latter periods of her life she engaged at Drury-lane.

A disorder, the nature of which appears not to have been ascertained by her physicians, and for which she was treated improperly, occasioned frequent interruptions to her performance. More than once her death was publicly announced by the papers. About a month before her malady terminated fatally, the comedy of "The Provoked Wife" was ordered by

the king. Mrs. Cibber was solicitous on this occasion to shew her respect for the royal family, by performing her favourite part of Lady Brute. Her exertions in the infirm state of her health were thought to have accelerated her death. But she was still more hurt by sea-bathing, injudiciously advised by her physician, and to which she had a decided aversion. Her disorder was by the medical men supposed to be a bilious cholic, but was discovered, after her decease, on the opening of the body, to have been occasioned by stomach worms.

She expired January 30, 1766, and was buried in the cloisters in Westminster-abbey. On hearing of her death, Garrick declared 'that tragedy died with her.' She brought on the stage an elegant little piece from the French, entitled "The Oracle," in one act, printed in 8vo. 1752.

Biographia Dramatica.

MARY CHANDLER.

MARY CHANDLER was born at Malmsbury in Wiltshire, in 1687. Her father was a dissenting minister at Bath, whose narrow circumstances rendered it necessary that his daughter should be put in a situation that might enable her to provide for her own subsistence. She was accordingly placed with a milliner. Mr. Chandler, nevertheless, neglected not to pay attention to her education, and to superintend with more especial care the moral culture of her mind. From her childhood Mrs. Chandler shewed a talent for poetry; she was accustomed to compose riddles in verse for the amusement of her young companions: Herbert's Poems were at that period of life her favourite study. As her judgment matured, she applied herself to the perusal of the first poets, both ancient and modern. She preferred Horace to either Virgil or Homer, because his subjects were less fabulous and came nearer to nature and common life. Her poem upon the *Bath* received the approbation of the public; but, by the praise of Mr. Pope, with whom she was acquainted, she was still more gratified.

Her figure was deformed, but her countenance was sweet and engaging: she refused several solicitations of marriage on account of her personal disadvantages. She died, after two

days' illness, September 11, 1745, in the fifty-eighth year of her age. The following extract from her poem on *Solitude* is characteristic of the qualities of her mind and heart:

"Sweet solitude, the Muses' dear delight,
Serene thy day, and peaceful is thy night;
Thou nurse of innocence, fair virtue's friend!
Silent, tho' rapt'rous, pleasures thee attend.
Earth's verdant scenes, the all-surrounding skies,
Employ my wand'ring thoughts, and feast my eyes:
Nature in every object points the road,
Whence Contemplation wings my soul to God.
He's all in all, his wisdom, goodness, pow'r,
Spring in each blade, and bloom in ev'ry flow'r,
Smile o'er the meads, and bend in ev'ry hill,
Glide in the stream, and murmur in the rill:
All nature moves obedient to his will.
Heav'n shakes, earth trembles, and the forests nod,
When awful thunders speak the voice of God."

Biographium Fœmineum.

MRS. CHAPONE.

The respectable family of Mrs. Chapone, whose maiden name was Mulso, were natives of Northamptonshire. The married life of this lady, which was short, appears not to have been happy. Her circumstances, when left a widow, were scanty and limited. She possessed in her youth a fine voice and great taste in music. Without an acquaintance with classical learning, the style of her compositions was elegant and correct. She was acquainted with the modern languages, and made some translations from the French. She was fond of conversation, and possessed conversible powers, with an occasional talent of humour. From having associated in early life with polite circles, Mrs. Chapone had acquired easy and polished manners. She was long known to the public as an elegant and moral writer. Among her first productions were the interesting story of *Fidelia* in the *Adventurer*, and a poem prefixed to the translation of Epictetus by her friend Mrs. Carter. Her "Letters on the Improvement of the Mind, addressed to a Young Lady," and printed in 1773, made her name known. The following character of this work is given by

a lady* highly and justly esteemed in the republic of letters. "It is distinguished by sound sense, a liberal as well as a warm spirit of piety, and a philosophy applied to its best use, the culture of the heart and affections. It has no shining eccentricities of thought, no peculiarities of system; it follows experience as its guide, and is content to produce effects of acknowledged utility by known and approved means. On these accounts it is perhaps the most unexceptionable treatise that can be put into the hands of a female youth. These letters are particularly excellent in what relates to the regulating the temper and feelings. Their style is pure and unaffected, and the manner grave and impressive. Those who choose to compare them in this respect with another widely circulated publication,† addressed about the same time to young women, will probably be of opinion that the dignified simplicity of the female writer is much more consonant to true taste than the affected prettinesses and constant glitter of the preacher."

Mrs. Chapone published soon after a volume of miscellanies, containing some elegant poems, and one or two moral essays. This performance did not obtain the notice it merited.

The loss of a beloved niece, the lady to whom the letters were addressed, and of a brother yet dearer, to whom similarity of taste had affectionately united Mrs. Chapone, affected her health and spirits, and hastened prematurely the infirmities of age. Having withdrawn herself from society, she gradually declined, and expired at Hadley, in Middlesex, December 25, 1801, in the 75th year of her age.

CHARIXENA.

CHARIXENA, a learned Greek lady, the author of several compositions both in prose and verse; particularly of a poem entitled "Crumata." This lady is mentioned by Aristophanes.

Biographium Fœmineum—Plutarch.

* Mrs. Barbauld. † Dr. Fordyce's Sermons.

CHELONIS.

Chelonis was the wife and daughter of two kings of Lacedemon. Leonidas her father was deposed by a faction, who placed on the throne Cleombrotus her husband. Chelonis, on this occasion, refusing to share the fortune of her husband, retired with her father into a temple in which he had taken sanctuary. In this retreat the father and daughter appeared as suppliants, in a state of humiliation and dejection. Leonidas some time after was permitted to retire to Tagea, whither Chelonis acccompanied him.

But in the fluctuation of human events, and the levity of popular favour, the former circumstances were reversed. Leonidas was restored to the throne, and Cleombrotus reduced in his turn to take refuge in the sanctuary. Chelonis now forsook her father, and attached herself to the adverse fortunes of her husband.

Leonidas with an armed force repaired to the sanctuary, where he passionately reproached Cleombrotus for his usurpations, and the injuries he had made him suffer. Cleombrotus listened in silence to the accusations of his father-in-law; but Chelonis, with tears and protestations that she would not survive him, obtained from her father the life of her husband, with liberty that he should choose the place of his retirement. To the affectionate entreaties of Leonidas, that she would continue with him and forsake Cleombrotus, she returned a resolute refusal, and putting one of her children into the arms of her husband, and taking the other in her own, she accompanied them into exile.

Biographium Fœmineum, &c.

CHRISTINA,

QUEEN OF SWEDEN.

Christina, daughter of the great Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, and of Maria Eleonora of Brandenburg, was born December 18, 1626. During the pregnancy of the queen her mother, it was predicted by the astrologers, whose preten-

sions were at that time held in high estimation, that to Gustavus a son was about to be born destined to maintain the glory of his father. This prediction, added to some other circumstances, misled the women who attended the queen on her delivery, to misrepresent the sex of the child. Gustavus, on being informed of the mistake by Catherine his sister, smilingly replied, 'Let us however thank God; this girl, I trust, will prove not less valuable than a boy: she has already, by deceiving us, given a presage of her ingenuity.'

Gustavus attached himself to the child, which he carried with him in all his journeys. Christina, when about two years of age, was taken by her father to Calmar, the governor of which hesitated whether to give to the king the usual salute, lest the infant should be terrified by the noise of the cannon. Gustavus being consulted upon the occasion, exclaimed, after a moment's pause, 'Fire! the girl is the daughter of a soldier, and should be accustomed to it betimes.' The salute being given, the princess clapped her hands, and, in her infantine language cried, 'More, more!' Delighted with her courage, Gustavus afterwards caused her to be present at a review. 'Very well,' said he, perceiving the pleasure she took in the military show, 'Very well, you shall go, I am resolved, where you shall have enough of this diversion.' Gustavus was prevented by death from executing his promise. Christina laments in her Memoirs, that she was not permitted to learn the art of war under so great a master. She also expresses regret, that, during her life, she never marched at the head of an army, nor even witnessed a battle.

The tears which she shed at parting with her father, on his German expedition, were regarded by the superstitious as an ill omen. She had been taught a complimentary address, which she was to repeat to Gustavus at parting. Absorbed in thought, the monarch appeared abstracted while his daughter performed her lesson: the child, observing his inattention, pulled him by the sleeve, and began again to repeat the address. The king, affected by her perseverance, burst into tears, caught her in his arms, and, after holding her in silence some moments to his breast, delivered her to an attendant.

After the death of Gustavus the states of Sweden assembled, when the marshal of the diet proposed the crowning of

Christina, in conformity to a decree by which the female posterity of Charles IX. the father of Gustavus, were declared capable of succeeding to the throne. 'Who is this Christina?' exclaimed Larfsen, a member of the order of peasants; 'let us see her, let her be brought out to us?' The marshal retiring, returned with the young princess in his arms. The peasant coming up to her, considered her attentively. 'Yes,' cried he aloud, 'this is she herself; she has the nose, the eyes, and the forehead of Gustavus: we will have her for our queen.' Christina, who was immediately seated upon the throne, and proclaimed queen, appeared from that moment to take a pleasure in the regal dignity.

Russia having soon after deputed its ambassadors to ratify the treaty with Sweden, it was feared by the court, that the appearance of these strangers, their number, their beards, their uncouth habits, and rude manners, would alarm the young queen; but these apprehensions proved to be ufounded. Christina received the ambassadors with mingled firmness and dignity, as became the daughter of a hero and a king.

She discovered while in her childhood a distaste for the society and occupations of her sex; in which, it is said, she betrayed all the aukwardness and incapacity of a boy; while she delighted in violent exercises, in exertions of strength and feats of activity. She possessed also a taste for abstract speculations, for the severer sciences, the acquisition of language, the study of civil polity, of legislation, and of history. Thucydides, Polybius, and Tacitus were among her favourite writers.

While the queen was employed in cultivating her talents and improving her mind, her generals, Neymar, Manier, Wrangel, and Torstenson, were desolating Germany in the thirty years' war.

Christina, having on the 18th of December 1644, completed the eighteenth year of her age, assumed the reigns of government; to the conduct of which she proved herself fully equal. The sovereign of a great kingdom, the princes of Europe aspired to her hand: the kings of Portugal, of Spain, and of the Romans; don John of Austria; Sigismond of Rakocci, count and general of Cassonia; Stanislaus, king of Poland; John Cassimir, his brother; the prince of Denmark, the elector Palatine, the elector of Brandenburg, and Charles Gustavus, duke

of Deux Ponts, of the Bavarian Palatinate family, son of the sister of her father, and first cousin to Christina; were among the number of her suitors.

Their proposals were uniformly rejected by the queen, who caused Charles Gustavus her cousin to be appointed her successor. Political interests, contrariety of religion, and diversity of manners, were pleaded by Christina as the motives of her conduct; the true cause of which perhaps is to be sought for in her love of independence and impatience of control. From childhood she expressed a distaste to marriage. 'Do not,' said she to the states, 'compel me to make a choice: should I bear a son, it is equally probable that he might prove a Nero as an Augustus.'

The magnanimity of Christina was, while yet in early youth, at the commencement of her reign displayed by a singular incident. A preceptor of the college, disordered in his intellects, conceived a design of assassinating the queen. For this purpose he repaired to the chapel of the castle of Stockholm, where Christina, with the principal noblemen of the court, was attending service: the assassin made choice of that moment for the perpetration of his design, when the assembly were engaged in what is termed by the Swedish church an act of recollection; in which each individual, kneeling, and covering his face with his hand, performs a silent and separate devotional service. At this instant, the lunatic rushing through the crowd, ascended a balustrade, within which the queen knelt. Baron Brahi, chief justice of Sweden, being first alarmed, cried aloud, while the guards crossed their partizans to bar the approach of the madman; who, furiously striking them aside, leaped the barrier, and, with a knife which he concealed in his sleeve, aimed a blow at the queen. Christina, evading the stroke, pushed the captain of the guards, who, throwing himself upon the assassin, seized him by his hair. All this passed in a moment of time; the man was known to be deranged, and therefore not suspected of having accomplices. They satisfied themselves with putting him under restraint; and the queen, without any apparent emotion, returned to her devotions. The people, with a lively interest for the fate of their sovereign, showed great alarm and agitation.

One of the most important events that occupied the atten-

tion of Christina, during her reign, was the peace of Westphalia. Two plenipotentiaries were commissioned by her to the congress; Oxenstiern, whose father the grand-chancellor had enjoyed the favour of Gustavus, and who had with absolute power governed Sweden during the minority of the queen, till she became, at length, weary of the yoke; and Salvius, lord privy-seal, in whom she placed entire confidence, and who, by her desire, forwarded the pacific measures, against which Oxenstiern, who foresaw in the peace the diminution of his own and of his family's importance, opposed every possible obstacle.

His opposition, however, proved abortive: a peace so desirable, and in which so many jarring interests were conciliated, was finally determined in October, 1648. Christina was, by the success of the Swedish arms, rendered mistress of the treaty, which confirmed to Sweden the possession of many important countries. The services of Salvius on this occasion were rewarded by his mistress with the dignity of senator; a prerogative which had till then belonged to birth, but to which the queen rightly judged merit afforded a juster claim.

During the remainder of her reign, a wise administration and a profound peace afforded none of those striking and terrible events which distinguish more stormy periods: the happiness, the confidence, and the love of her people, reflect upon Christina a higher and less equivocal praise than can be derived from subtle negotiations, or conferred by successful wars. Learning and the arts flourished under her administration; while all that was distinguished in genius and acquirements, were attracted by her liberality to the Swedish court. Among characters illustrious for their talents about this period, may be named Grotius, Paschal, Bochart, Descartes, Cassendi, Saumaise, Nande, Vossius, Heinsius, Meiborn, Sauvery, Menage, Lucas, Holstenius, Lambecius, Bayle, Fillicaca, and madame Dacier, who returned the notice and patronage of Christina by celebrating her praises. In the following Latin epigram, a parallel is drawn by Bochart between the queens of Sweden and of Sheba:

Illa docenda fuis Salomonum invisit aboris;
Undique ad hanc docti, quo doceantur, eunt.

It has been alleged against Christina, that the distinctions she bestowed on merit was not always apportioned with strict discrimination; or, in other words, that her judgment was human and fallible, sometimes misled by imagination, and sometimes betrayed by partiality and affection. She is accused of having disgusted Descartes by withholding from him the meed due to his superiority. The acute feelings attendant on genius might perhaps render the philosopher unreasonable, or possibly make his patroness unjust.

A heavier charge is brought against her, respecting the rapid fortunes acquired under her protection by Michon (i. e. Bourdelot), who seems not to have merited her liberalities and countenance. Introduced at court by Saumaise, sprightly and little scrupulous in the subjects of his mirth, without pretention to erudition, he superseded for a time, in the favour of the queen, the satellites of literature, whose endowments he treated in his licentious mirth with but little respect. Compelled at length by the public indignation to banish her favourite, Christina lavished on him marks of confidence. The glory of Bourdelot, like a meteor, glittered but for a moment, and sunk in obscurity. His favour with the queen survived not his presence: as if ashamed of the transient infatuation, she soon ceased to remember him but with aversion and contempt. His qualities amused for an instant, but afforded no basis on which to found esteem. Christina preserved no other correspondence with him than to render him subservient to her taste for letters, by employing him to collect for her in France, of which he was a native, and to which he retired, the most valuable productions as they successively appeared. During the ascendency of Bourdelot over the queen, he supplanted in her favour count Magnus de la Gardie (son of the constable of Sweden), her relation, favourite, and reputed lover.

Madame de Motteville, who conversed with the count when on an embassy to France, speaks in her Memoirs of his attachment to the queen, of whom (says she) he talked in a manner so respectful and passionate, that every person who heard him suspected his eulogiums were excited by a sentiment more ardent than duty. His disgrace is said to have arisen from his ambition of usurping too much power in the state; while Bourdelot, without awakening the jealousy of the

queen, knew how to flatter and amuse the *woman:* his humorous sallies, and flights of imagination, by affording to his patroness a careless relaxation from the burthen of state affairs, secured his ascendency over her mind.

Scudery, having obtained permission to dedicate to Christina his Alaric, she required him to erase from the poem a compliment inserted to her fallen favourite, the count de Gardie. The poet, with a becoming spirit, that implied a reproach on the little magnanimity displayed by the queen in this request, generously replied, 'that he would never destroy the altar upon which he had sacrificed.'

An accident happened about this time which reflects upon Christina greater credit. Some ships of war had been built at Stockholm by the orders of the queen, which she was desirous of inspecting. As, for this purpose, she crossed a narrow plank, led by admiral Herring, his foot slipped, and, drawing the queen with him, he fell into water ninety feet in depth. Anthony Steinberg, first equerry to Christina, plunged instantly into the sea, caught hold of the queen's robe, and with such assistance as the by-standers could afford, drew her to the shore. Christina preserved through the whole of this transaction her recollection and presence of mind. 'Take care of the admiral,' cried she, the moment her head was raised above water. When brought on shore, she neither expressed fear nor betrayed any emotion; but, dining in public on the same day, gave a humorous turn to the adventure.

The rank, which by its splendor and power had at first flattered her imagination, she at length began to feel as a burthen: she sighed for freedom and leisure, and, after mature deliberation, determined on abdicating the throne. In 1652, she communicated her resolution to the senate, who remonstrated against its execution; in which remonstrance the people unanimously, and even Charles Gustavus, nominated by her to the succession, warmly joined. Yielding to their importunities, she sustained the weight of the crown two years longer, when she resumed her purpose of abdication, which she carried into effect.

It appears by a letter from Christina, addressed to M. Ganut, the French ambssador, in whom she placed confidence,

that she had meditated this design for more than eight years, and had five years previous to its execution communicated it to him. The ceremony of the abdication afforded a solemn and affecting spectacle: in the tears of the people Christina read at once their attachment and regret: while every heart was moved, and every eye overflowed, she alone appeared firm and tranquil.

Having thus discharged the debt due to the public, and transferred to Charles Gustavus its future welfare, she hastened in pursuit of science to a country more favourable to its cultivation. Whether, in resigning the cares of state, and claiming freedom, the birth-right of every human being, Christina merited censure or applause, must be left to casuists to determine. The voluntary abdication of power affords a phenomenon in the history of sovereigns that has rarely been exhibited. 'How great,' exclaimed the prince of Condé, and many perhaps will sympathise with him, 'How great was the magnanimity of this princess, who could so readily yield that for which mankind are perpetually practising mutual destruction; and which so many make, though with little prospect of its attainment, the pursuit of their lives!'

The abdication of Christina gave to Europe a new subject of speculation. In quitting the scene of her regal power, she appeared as if escaped from imprisonment: having arrived at a small brook which separates the countries of Sweden and Denmark, she alighted from her carriage, and leaped over the stream: 'At length,' cried she, 'I am free, and out of Sweden, whither I hope never to return.' Dismissing with her women the habit of her sex, she assumed that of the other. 'I would become a *man*,' said she; 'but it is not that I love men because they are men, but merely that they are not women.' Masculine in her habits, no less than in her endowments, she affected on all occasions a contempt for her sex: she seems not to have been aware, that the tenderness, the sensibility, and the gentleness of woman, combined with the reason and fortitude of man, affords the perfection of human character.

With the sovereign authority, Christina also abjured the faith in which she had been educated. On the evening of the day on which this ceremony took place, a comedy was acted. 'Is it not just,' said the protestants, who doubted of the since-

lity of this conversion, 'that a comedy should be given by the catholics in the evening, to her who exhibited to them a farce in the morning?' Some time previous to the abdication of Christina, Anthony Macedo, a jesuit, was chosen by John IV. king of Portugal to accompany his ambassador into Sweden. In some conversation between the queen and the jesuit, with whose talents and address she was greatly pleased, she imparted to him her design of entering the Romish church. Macedo was dispatched to Rome with letters from the queen to the jesuits, in which she requested that two of their society might be dispatched to her, Italians and learned men, with whom she might confer on religious subjects. This request was instantly and gladly complied with. Francis Maline, professor of divinity at Turin, and Paul Casatus, professor of mathematics at Rome, were accordingly commissioned to the queen, whose predilection for their tenets being thus confirmed, she embraced the faith of the Romish church; that grand and affecting superstition, the study and the labour of ages, so fitted to allure the senses, to captivate the imagination, and to triumph over the affections of the human mind.

The Lutherans, while they censured the instability, mourned the defection of the royal convert; whom Rome received in triumph with open arms. The ceremony of her abjuration took place at Brussels, where she met the great Condé, who had there sought an asylum. 'Cousin,' said she to him, 'who, ten years ago, would have thought that we should have met at this distance from our countries?' This interview, earnestly desired by both parties, from sentiments of mutual respect, a trifling etiquette was suffered to disturb. The prince demanded to be received by the queen with honours similar to those she had shown to the arch-duke Leopald. This she refused. Condé determined therefore to see her incognito, and entered her apartment among the crowd of common visitors. Christina, discovering him by a picture in her possession, was about to pay him the honours suited to his rank, but the prince, perceiving her intention, precipitately prepared to withdraw. Perceiving the queen follow him, with a view of inducing him to return, he cried out laconically, turning his head: 'All or nothing, madam.' Having thus said, he instantly quitted the room. From this time they met but by accident with mutual reserve and disgust.

A restless temper, or a fondness for travelling, prevented Christina from remaining long in any place: from Brussels she went to Rome, into which, as the capital of the christian world, her entry was made with all the pomp of a triumph. The pope declared, that more honour was reflected upon Rome by this conquest over error, than by all her ancient warlike achievements. Many days passed in festivity and joy; after which Christina gave herself up to her taste for letters, for the sciences, and the arts. The jesuits affirmed that she ought to be placed by the church among the saints, by the side of St. Bridget of Sweden. 'I had rather,' said she with vivacity, when informed of the honour designed her, 'be placed among the sages.'

Having left Rome she visited France, whence she returned to Rome, and afterwards repaired to Sweden; where it does not appear that she was well received. Leaving Sweden for Hamburg, where she continued a year, she passed again to Rome, then back to Hamburg, and once more to Sweden; where being received with still less respect, she returned again to Hamburg, and thence to Rome. Another journey to Sweden was projected, and also an expedition to England, where Cromwell seemed not disposed to receive her. Neither of these designs were executed: Christina, after many wanderings and purposes of wandering, died at Rome, April 15th, 1689.

It is affirmed by some historians, that, after the decease of Charles Gustavus, in 1660, Christina was desirous of resuming the throne, from which, by the laws and constitution of Sweden, her religion excluded her. Upon this conviction, she confirmed anew her abdication, reserving only for herself and her attendants, in case of her return to her native country, the free exercise of the religion she had chosen. Others, without mentioning this circumstance, allege as a motive for her frequent journeys to Sweden, that her appointments were ill paid. It is certain that she repeatedly confirmed her abdication to the states.

That human consistency is rare, and that habits are not easily broken, are trite observations: Christina is accused of disturbing the quiet of the places which she visited, by exacting those regal honours which she had voluntarily resigned, by refusing to conform to common modes and customs, and

by exciting and fomenting political intrigue. While on the throne, she had been ambitious of taking the lead in the affairs of Europe; the same active, enterprising spirit, followed her in her retreat. During the faction of the *Fronde* in France, she addressed letters to the parties interested, offering her mediation; an interference that was regarded as equally absurd and mischievous. She gave disgust to the court by violating its forms, by persevering in wearing the dress of the other sex, and by the contempt with which she treated her own. Yet, while ridiculing the manners of the ladies of the court, she busied herself in their cabals. She flattered the passion of Lewis XIV., then in early manhood, for mademoiselle de Mancini, niece to cardinal Mazarine. 'I would fain be your confidant,' said she to them: 'if you love, you must marry.' A still more serious accusation is brought against her, respecting the murder of Monaldeschi, her master of the horse, and entrusted with her confidence, over which a mystery seems to hang, and of which the following particulars are given by *Père Bell*, who confessed the unfortunate victim in the royal palace of Fonaireblau, where the transaction took place.

"On the 6th of November, 1657, at nine in the morning, I was sent for by the queen of Sweden, to attend her at the *conciergerie* of the palace, where she was lodged, the messenger having first inquired whether I was the superior of the convent. Having accompanied me to the door of the anti-chamber, he left me a few minutes, and then returning, conducted me to the apartment of the queen, whom I found alone. After paying my respects, I desired to know her majesty's commands. She invited me to attend her to the gallery of *Cerfs*, that we might converse with more freedom. She asked me if, on any former occasion, she had ever spoken to me. I had been once, I informed her, presented to her majesty, and graciously received. 'You bear sir,' said she, 'a habit which implies confidence; you hold the seal of secrecy, and are worthy of being entrusted; are you not?' In these respects I assured her I was both deaf and blind. She then put into my hands a packet, sealed with different seals, and without superscription, and desired me to minute down the place, day, and hour, in which I had received it from her hands, requesting that I would preserve it till called for. After promising punc-

palace of the king of France, deserved her most serious consideration; that it was not merely unexampled, but a business in which the whole world was interested; and though within her own dominions, her right to execute justice on her subjects and domestics was undoubted, yet, I begged leave to observe, that herself, with the marquis, were now under the protection of another prince, and in a foreign empire; adding, that I could wish her majesty would proceed against the criminal by a regular process, and not to put him to death in a manner so precipitate.

"I almost repented having thus spoken, for I perceived I had urged the queen too far. Before I took my leave, I therefore observed, that the high honour and esteem with which she inspired the French nation, would not, I hoped, be sullied by a too hasty punishment of so great an offender. The king, I was pursuaded, would, on application, direct a formal process to be carried on, and justice to be executed on the marquis: in which case her majesty would preserve that admirable character to which her actions had so justly entitled her.

"What, said she, 'shall I who preside absolute over my own subjects, be reduced to solicit justice against a domestic traitor from another prince? I have proved his perfidy: he stands convicted under his own hand, and he *shall* suffer for his treason and infidelity.' 'True, madam,' replied I, 'but your majesty being a party so deeply interested, and—' 'No, no, my father,' said she, interrupting me, 'I will make my reasons known to the king. Return, I beseech you, and take care of his soul; I cannot in conscience comply with any of your requests.'

"The change which I perceived in her voice and manner convinced me that every effort must prove fruitless. Yet, I cannot but think, that in any other place, where there had been no danger lest the marquis should escape, nor hazard of her own life, that she would have deferred the execution of so singular a design. For my own part, duty and charity constrained me to return to the prisoner, and to prepare him for his fate."

This narration by no means removes the obscurity in which this affair is involved: whatever might have been the crime of Monaldeschi, or the rights of Christina, humanity must shudder at the preceding account of a transaction, dif-

ficult to extenuate, and impossible to excuse. The temper of Christina appears on all occasions to have been vindictive: educated in despotism, and accustomed to govern, she knew not how to resign with her rank the mischievous privileges which that rank had bestowed. 'If you fail in your duty,' said she to her secretary, whom she sent after her abdication to Stockholm, 'the power of the king of Sweden, though you should take shelter in his arms, shall not save your life!' In asserting the rights of the franchises, she thus wrote to the officers of the pope: "Believe me, those whom you have condemned to die, shall, if it please God, live some time longer. Should it happen that they die a violent death, be assured, that they die not alone." A musician had quitted her service for that of the duke of Savoy. Transported with resentment, she wrote: "He lives only for me, and if he does not sing for me, he shall not long sing for any body. It is his duty to live only in my service, and, if he does not, he shall surely repent it." Bayle was also threatened by Christina, for having said, that her letter on the revocation of the edict of Nantes was a remain of protestanism;* but, having appeased her by his apologies and submissions, she thus wrote to him: "You shall not get off so cheap as you imagine. I will enjoin you a penance; which is, that you shall henceforth take the trouble of sending me all curious books, that shall be published in Latin, Italian, Spanish, or French, on whatever subject or science, provided they are worthy of being looked into. I do not even except romances or satires: and above all, if there are any books of chemistry, I desire you will send them as soon as possible. Do not forget also to send me your journal."

Like all human characters, that of Christina appears to have been mingled. Her wit, her talents, her learning, her activity, her courage, and magnanimity, are worthy of praise. When, speaking of herself, she declares that she is 'ambitious, impetuous, haughty, disdainful, satirical, and sceptical,' we must at least give her credit for ingenuousness. Should it be allowed that her temper was restless, vindictive, and impatient of control, let it be remembered, that early seated on a throne, and accustomed to exercise authority, she was unused to

* Nouvelles de la République de Lettres. Juin, 1686.

opposition and corrupted by power. Subject, like all ardent temperaments, to extremes, in her emulation of the severer virtues of one sex she lost sight of the delicacy and decorums of the other: in common discourse she was profuse of oaths, she laughed aloud, and walked with precipitate strides. 'I had rather,' says she, speaking on this subject, 'emancipate myself all at once, since I was not born to be a slave.' Glory was her ruling passion, which she sought alike in the possession and in the relinquishment of power: but in the pursuit of this *ignis fatuus* she was often seduced or misled by appearances. Virtue and heroism must be loved for their own sakes, or they will not reward their votaries: those only who obey with simplicity their dictates, without looking to what is adventitious and extrinsic, are truly great. Christina, after having relinquished the crown of Sweden, intrigued for that of Poland with a levity that degraded her. Those who withhold their praise till they meet with consistency of character must, it is to be feared, deal only in satire.

The letters to the king of Prussia, published at Amsterdam 1759, and at Geneva 1761, said to be written by Christina, are since known to be spurious.

Biographium Fœmineum—Encyclopediana, &c. &c.

LADY MARY CHUDLEIGH.

MARY, daughter of Richard Lee, esq. of Winslade, Devonshire, was born in August, 1656. She received from education no particular advantages; but a passion for books, great activity of mind, and habits of application, enabled her to make a considerable progress in literature, and to acquire distinction and celebrity. She devoted herself more particularly to poetry and the *belles lettres*. She married sir George Chudleigh, of Ashton, bart. to whom she bore several children.

She composed a poem to the memory of a favourite daughter, who expired in the bloom of life, entitled, "A dialogue between Lucinia and Marissa." A short time after, she gave another specimen of her poetic talents in "The Ladies' Defence; or, the Bride-woman's counsellor answered; a Poem. In a Dialogue between Sir John Brute, Sir William Lovell, Melissa, and a Parson." This production, occasioned by an

illiberal sermon preached against the sex, has been several times republished.

The devotion of lady Chudleigh to the muses did not prevent her from cultivating the severer studies of philosophy; as was proved by the publication of some essays, in verse and prose, 1710, dedicated to the princess Sophia, electress and dowager of Brunswic. The princess acknowledged the merit of the writer by a very obliging letter, written in French. The subjects of these essays are "Knowledge, Pride, Humility, Life, Death, Fear, Grief, Riches, Self-love, Justice, Anger, Calumny, Friendship, Love, Avarice, Solitude." They are said to be written with purity and elegance, and to evince the knowledge and piety of the author, who contemned the frivolous pursuits of her sex. "The Song of The Three Children, paraphrased," was, with a collection of poems on various occasions, published in 1722, 12mo. This work went through several editions.

Lady Chudleigh, after having been confined to her chamber a considerable time with the rheumatism, died in the fifty-fifth year of her age, at Ashton, in Devonshire, December 15th, 1710. She left in manuscript two tragedies, two operas, a masque, some of Lucian's dialogues versified, Satirical Reflections on Saqualio, in imitation of a dialogue of Lucian; with several other poems, which are preserved in her family. At the end of the second volume of the duke of Wharton's poems, are five letters from lady Chudleigh, addressed to Corinna,* and to the Rev. Mr. Norris of Bemerton. Also, in a collection of poems by eminent ladies of Great Britain and Ireland, several pieces of lady Chudleigh's are preserved, which display strong powers of understanding, and a facility of versification, rather than a poetic imagination. This lady, not less distinguished for her exemplary conduct than for the powers of her mind, was an ardent advocate for the improvement and cultivation of female talents. Her "Defence of the Ladies," in which she deprecates with some severity the usurpations of man, and contends for the intellectual rights and privileges of her sex, was several times reprinted. The following lines are selected as a specimen from this performance:

* Mrs. Elizabeth Thomas.

" Yours be the fame, the profit, and the praise;
We'll neither rob you of your vine nor bays:
Nor will we to dominion once aspire;
You shall be chief, and still yourselves admire.
The tyrant man may yet possess the throne,
'Tis in our minds that we would rule alone:
Those unseen empires give us leave to sway,
And to our reason private homage pay.
Our struggling passions within bounds confine,
And to our thoughts their proper task assign.
This is the use we would of knowledge make,
You quickly would the good effects partake," &c.

This lady's claims are a little too modest: light on some occasions serves but to make darkness visible. Happy is the slave who remains unconscious of his bonds!

MARGARET CLEMENT.

MARGARET CLEMENT, niece to sir Thomas More, was born in 1508, and educated in the family of her uncle, with his daughters, whom she emulated in learning and science. This, lady, who corresponded in Latin with Erasmus, is praised by him for good sense, and a chaste correct style. She is mentioned by Mr. More, in his life of sir Thomas, as a woman of singular acquirements and learning. She was greatly attached to her uncle, whose virtues she reverenced; she was accustomed to say, that she had sometimes committed wilful errors, from the pleasure she experienced in his mild and affectionate reproofs.

She carefully preserved the linen, stained with the blood of sir Thomas, in which he was executed, and also his shirt of hair.

In 1531, she married her tutor, Dr. John Clement: their nuptials were celebrated by Mr. John Leland, the antiquarian poet, in a Latin epithalamium. One daughter, Winefrid Clement, was the fruit of this union, a learned and ingenious woman, who married Mr. William Rastall, a man of talents and literature and an eminent lawyer.

Dr. Clement and his wife left England to avoid a religious persecution, and settled at Mechlin, in Brabant, where

Mrs. Clement died, July 6th, 1570, in the sixty-third year of her age, and was interred near the tabernacle, in the church of St. Rumbold.

Ballard's British Ladies—Biographium Fœmineum.

CLEOBULE.

Cleobule, or Cleobuline, daughter of Cleobulus, prince of Lindus, was celebrated among the ancients for her enigmatical sentences, or riddles, composed for the most part in Greek verse.

CLEOPATRA.

Ptolemy Auletes, who reigned in Egypt fifty-one years before the Christian æra, bequeathed at his death the sovereignty to his eldest son and daughter, who according to the custom of the country were to be united in marriage, and reign jointly. Cleopatra, the eldest, being only seventeen years of age, was, with her brother, committed, by the will of her father to the care and tuition of the Roman senate.

Posthinus, the eunuch, with Achillas, general of the Egyptian army, and Theodotus, a rhetorician, preceptor to the prince, ambitious and aspiring men, contrived to get into their hands the young king, who, by their counsel and persuasions, raised a force for the assistance of Pompey, in the disputes which had taken place between him and Cæsar. In recompense for this service, Pompey procured a decree of the senate to vest the government of Egypt solely in the hands of the prince. But after the battle of Pharsalia, Pompey, flying for refuge to Egypt, was, by the intrigues of these very men, basely murdered.

Cæsar, after this catastrophe, coming to Alexandria, while Cleopatra, with her sister Arsinoe, were collecting in Syria troops for the recovery of their rights, the decision of the dispute between the prince and his sisters was referred to his tribunal, and advocates on both sides appointed to plead before him.

Cleopatra, on this occasion, aware of the frailty of her judge, and confiding in her personal charms, formed the project of an interview with Cæsar, whose passions she doubted not to interest in her favour. Arsinoe and her younger brother had obtained an easy admittance into Alexandria; but Achillas, the general of Ptolemy, jealous of the address and talents of Cleopatra, sought to prevent her from entering the city. But the princess, fertile in expedients, having obtained from Cæsar permission for the solicited conference, eluded the precautions of her enemy, by causing herself to be secretly conveyed in a small galley, in the dusk of the evening, by Apollodorus the Sicilian, to the port of Alexandria, and landed near the palace; whence she was carried, folded in a mattress, through the gates of the castle, into the presence of Cæsar. Her enterprise produced the effect she had forseen: Cæsar, captivated by her youth, her beauty, and her address, granted all her demands, and purchased her favours by the sacrifice of integrity and justice.

On the ensuing day, her brother was exhorted to accede to the terms demanded by his sister; but Ptolemy, finding in his judge a prejudiced advocate, appealed from his decision to that of the people. An entire exclusion of the prince from the throne had been the purpose of Cæsar; but, to appease the murmurs of the populace, the destiny of Ptolemy was mitigated to a participation with Cleopatra of the regal dignity, according to the will of their father. In this situation he was incited, by the turbulent and aspiring temper of Achillas, to raise new commotions and tumults, which terminated in a war. After various disputes and skirmishes, a decisive battle was at length fought, in which the fortune of Cæsar prevailed. The unhappy Ptolemy, seeking safety in flight, was drowned while endeavouring to regain, in a boat, his ships in the Nile. On this catastrophe, a younger brother of Cleopatra, a youth only eleven years of age, was associated with her in the government.

Cæsar, plunged in voluptuousness and luxury, continued near twelve months a guest in the Alexandrian court. Soon after his departure, Cleopatra was delivered of a son, to whom, with the permission of his father, she gave the name of Cæsarion.

On his return to Rome, the emperor caused a statue of the queen of Egypt to be placed with that of the goddess in a temple dedicated to Venus. Cleopatra, accompanied by her brother, followed her lover to Rome, where, to the great disgust of the people, she was lodged in an apartment of the palace. A war which raged in Spain compelling the emperor to quit Rome, he prevailed upon his mistress, whom he was unwilling to expose during his absence to popular insult, to return, laden with magnificent presents, to her own dominions.

Cleopatra, from political motives, had contrived to leave her brother in Italy, where, jealous of his future interference with her authority, she caused him to be dispatched by poison. The unhappy youth having expired in a foreign country, far removed from his adherents and friends, no inquisition was made into the manner of his death, or the arts to which he fell a victim.

Cleopatra had scarcely reached Alexandria, when tidings arrived in Egypt of the assassination of Cæsar in the senate: on this intelligence, far from consuming her time in fruitless sorrow, she formed with the eldest son of Pompey, the most inveterate enemy of her deceased lover, an immediate treaty, in expectation of the revival of the interest of his family at Rome. During the civil war that ensued, the queen of Egypt, with a view of securing the favour of the victorious party, afforded to the contending factions alternate aid: while she sent troops to the assistance of Dolabella in Syria, Serapion, her lieutenant in Cyprus, had orders to declare in favour of Cassius.

After the battle of Philippi, when Augustus and Mark Antony shared the world between them, Antony came into Cilicia, whence he sent Delius to summon Cleopatra before him, to justify herself from the charge of having assisted the enemies of Cæsar. The queen, with a view of discovering the character of Antony, artfully questioned his messenger, and was too well satisfied with the result of her inquiries to doubt the success of the plan she meditated. Delius, overwhelmed by her with obligations and presents, for the purpose of securing his favourable report to his master, was dismissed with answers of humility and acquiescence. But, still farther to excite the curiosity and heighten the impatience of Antony, delays were

variously contrived, and excuses framed, to procrastinate the expected interview.

The day at length being appointed, Cleopatra, bearing magnificent presents, embarked in regal pomp on the Cydnus, in a small galley, the head of which was inlaid with gold; the sails were of purple silk, and the oars of silver, which, dashing the waves, kept time to the sound of musical instruments. The queen, habited as Venus, reposed under a canopy of cloth of gold richly embroidered, while beautiful boys, representing Cupids, fanned her on either side: her women, attired as sea-nymphs and graces, surrounded their mistress in respectful silence. Perfumes breathed a fragrance around, wafted by the breeze to the shores, which were crowded by people, who flocked to gaze on a scene so novel and splendid. Antony, seated on his tribunal in the forum, found himself wholly deserted: Venus, it was said, had arrived to feast with Bacchus, and to consult with him on the common welfare of Asia.

Cleopatra, having landed, was invited by Antony to supper; but, still farther to irritate his impatience, she artfully eluded this request, pleaded her privilege, as a woman, and a stranger, to be first allowed the honour of entertaining *the greatest man in the world*, to whom, as a Roman senator, all the potentates of the earth owed homage. Antony, gratified by her flattery, readily acceded to her request, while every preparation which the time would allow was made by her court for his reception.

Soft music, lights advantageously disposed, crowds of beautiful women magnificently attired, every elegance that could charm the fancy, every voluptuous incitement which could fascinate the senses, gave zest and variety to the entertainment. The queen, still more lovely and splendid than her attendants, reclining in a pensive and studied attitude, her head resting on her hand, contrived to be seen by her guest without being supposed to observe him; till, on his nearer approach, rising suddenly to receive him, she fell, as by accident, on her knees before him. As Antony hastened to raise her, she pretended to recover herself; and, addressing him in an elegant compliment, affected to construe her fall into a favourable omen, that her weakness would receive support from his strength, and that he would defend and protect a queen who

wholly resigned herself into his power. Still leaning on Antony, she suffered herself to be placed by him in a chair of state, which had by her orders been prepared for her guest, who gallantly seated himself beside her. This interview proved decisive: Antony became fascinated by the beauty and artifices of the fair Egyptian, whose only passion was ambition; and who by the coldness of her own heart, was enabled the more effectually to triumph over that of her lover.

The following evening Cleopatra was invited by Antony to return his visit, when the festivities were renewed, and the chains of the enamoured Roman completely riveted. Credulous, ardent, voluptuous, and sincere, Antony was, without difficulty, induced to yield his judgment to the charms that had subjugated his senses: a dupe to the artifices of Cleopatra, he blindly gave credit, without troubling himself to investigate facts, to whatever she thought proper to assert. By her intrigues and address she separated from him those friends whose integrity gave her umbrage, or whose penetration she feared; while, availing herself of his boundless love of pleasure, she acquired, by her arts and caprices, an unlimited control over his passions. Governing him with a secret but absolute sway, friendship, honour, reason, humanity, and justice, were the sacrifices which she exacted from her victim.

Having long coveted the possessions of her younger sister, to whom, in conjunction with her deceased brother, the kingdom of Cyprus had been allotted by Cæsar, she induced Antony, by her insinuations, to stain his hands in the blood of Arsinoe, whose death, to throw from herself the odium of the crime, she afterwards affected to deplore. Her sister had indeed, she pretended, conspired against her life and dignity, nevertheless she would have pardoned her, and must ever remain inconsolable for her fate. To appease her grief, and to reward her magnanimity, Antony presented to her the kingdom of Cyprus, the object of her cruel ambition.

She gave a new instance of her power over her lover, in leading him back with her to Alexandria, while his presence was indispensable at Rome, where Fulvia, his wife, maintained with Augustus an unequal contest. The Parthian troops had at the same time assembled in Mesopotamia, under the command of

Labienus, and were ready to enter Syria. In vain the friends of Antony exhorted him to disentangle himself from the toils of this Armida: held in voluptuous bondage, he wholly disregarded their entreaties and representations. Cleopatra gloried in thus holding in her chains one of the masters of the world: it was of his power rather than of his person that she was enamoured; she dreaded his absence, lest he should escape her fascinations; above all, she feared the influence of Fulvia, a woman of high and masculine spirit, who had fomented the disputes between Augustus and her husband for the purpose of detaching him from the spells of her rival. Cleopatra exhausted her invention in devising new spectacles for Antony, with a view of detaining him in her snares. An order, the members of which bore the title of the *Inimitable Livers*, was instituted at Alexandria, the grand rule of which was, by varying their enjoyments, to exclude every interval of satiety or reflection.

Of the excessive expense and profusion attending these festivals, the following curious instance is related by historians. A young Greek, who came to study physic at Alexandria, had the curiosity to procure himself admission into the kitchen of Antony; where among other provisions in preparation for a repast, he beheld eight wild boars roasting whole, at the same time. Having expressed his surprise at the great number of guests which he supposed must be expected to partake of the feast, one of the officers smiled, and informed him that ten only were invited, but as the moment when Antony would choose his supper was uncertain, and it was necessary that the table should be served in the utmost perfection, not one only but many suppers were always prepared. To this it is added, that it was the custom of Antony and Cleopatra to present to their guests the gold and silver vessels in which the entertainment was served up.

The queen, aware that to an enchantment which depended on caprice serious thought was the most formidable enemy, surrounded her captive by the creatures of her power, carefully excluding from him his real friends. Festivals, carousals, gaming, hunting, warlike amusements, and voluptuous repose, alternately occupied and diversified their hours. When Antony exercised in arms, his mistress was near him; he was by turns her Hercules, her Hector, or her Alexander. At other times, habited as gods,

they caroused on ambrosia and nectar; or, as the caprice seized them, strolled disguised through the city on nocturnal rambles, amusing themselves in wild frolics and dissolute mirth. Every casualty which seemed to threaten an interruption to their pleasures, served, by the wit and ingenuity of Cleopatra, but to improve and heighten their zest. Sometimes, dissolving in softness, she overwhelmed her lover with caresses; then, in fits of feigned anger, compelled him to sue for her returning smiles. By keen and delicate strokes of satire, she would frequently contrive to rouse his anger and alarm his pride, when, by the most artful and ingenious turns, she would suddenly convert into compliment the implied censure.

Antony, one day on a fishing party, being irritated by ill success, gave secret orders to the fishermen to cause divers, under water, to fasten to his hook fishes newly taken: the scheme succeeded: the fish were drawn up, and Antony triumphed in his skill. Cleopatra, suspecting the cause of this suddenly acquired dexterity, privately imparted her suspicions to the courtiers, whom she invited to be present on the ensuing day, to witness the catastrophe of the adventure. Every thing being prepared accordingly, Antony again let down his line, assured of prey, and again in a few minutes drew it forth exulting; when behold a salted fish, of a species originally taken in the Pontic sea, appeared suspended to the hook. Confounded by the burst of mirth, which this incident produced, he reddened with indignation; when the queen, approaching him with a smiling countenance, 'Leave the line, brave general,' said she, in a soft tone of voice, 'to us, the poor inhabitants of Pharos and Canopus: kingdoms, provinces, and cities, are your nobler game.'

Cleopatra, by holding the passions of her lover in perpetual agitation, by the varied pleasures and vivid emotions she prepared for him, maintained undiminished her ascendency over his mind: a stranger to genuine tenderness, it was her pride to display her power to an indignant world, in the degradation of the man whom she pretended to love. By her management, his faithful servants were driven from the presence of their master, whom, with Circean arts, she retained as in a magic circle: his reason, his affections, his glory, were sacrificed to the enchantress, for whom he contemned a prostrate world:

Intoxicated with the success of her spells, Cleopatra sported with deceit, and wantoned in new inventions, with which she daily beguiled her fascinated victim.

Yet, amidst the intoxications of pleasure, she omitted not to cultivate the sciences and elegant arts. In the place where the celebrated Alexandrian library had suffered destruction, she erected a new one; to the augmentation of which Antony considerably contributed, by presenting her with the libraries of Pergamus, which contained more than two hundred thousand volumes. Her collection of books was not merely ostentatious; she delighted in literature: there were few nations, however barbarous, to which she needed an interpreter; with the languages of the Ethiopians, Troglodytæ, Arabians, Syrians, Medes, and Parthians, she was familiar, nor was she unacquainted with those of several other nations; while the greater part of the sovereigns of Egypt who preceded her, wrapt in profound ignorance, had been unable to acquire even the language of Egypt.

Antony was at length roused from his voluptuous trance by messengers from Rome, from whom he received information, that Lucius Antonius his brother, and Fulvia his wife, had, after many disputes, united against Octavius; and, failing in success, had been compelled to abandon Italy: while Octavius, having made himself master of Gaul, had gained the legions stationed there to his party. From another courier, who arrived at the same time, he learned that the Parthians, under the command of Pacorus the son of their king, assisted by Labienus and Barzapharnes, had made themselves masters of Syria, and marched to Jerusalem; which having sacked, they carrid away Hyrcanus the high-priest, with Phazael the brother of Herod, prisoners; Herod himself having fled for safety to the mountains.

Cleopatra, filled with consternation by these accounts, which threatened to rob her of her captive, and dreading more than all his return to Italy and Fulvia, prevailed on him to turn his attention to the east, and to recover Syria, which she regarded as her own. With this view, she affected to treat lightly the Italian war, and magnified the importance of his presence in the east. After various delays and obstacles, which she opposed to the departure of Antony, for the purpose

of displaying her power in his weakness, two hundred ships, with a considerable army, were collected to oppose the Parthians. Cleopatra omitted no artifice, on this separation, to convince her lover of the sacrifice she made of her tenderness to his glory, in suffering him to depart.

But her triumph received an alloy, when, some time after, intelligence arrived from the spies she had placed about him, that Antony had steered his course for Italy, and had already reached Athens, where he had been joined by Fulvia. Stunned by a blow thus unforeseen, her first idea was to repair to Athens, and to dispute with Fulvia the heart of her husband; but farther reflection induced her to abandon a project, which, in its possible failure, would overwhelm her with humiliation. Her apprehensions were in some degree softened when she learned that Antony and his wife passed their time in mutual reproaches; Antony upbraiding her with the war she had kindled at Rome, and Fulvia retorting upon him his inglorious captivity in Egypt, to which she imputed the calamities that had taken place. Encouraged by this intelligence, and by the consciousness of superior charms, a comparison which she believed her lover could not fail of making in her favour, Cleopatra addressed to him an epistle, in which, after artfully insinuating her claims, her passion, her sufferings, and the sacrifices she had made to him, she ridiculed, with poignant satire, the age, the person, the character, and the privileges of her rival; while, with mingled flattery, she affected to rally the respect of Antony for the conjugal tie. This address concluded with exaggerated expressions of her despair in his absence. The letter produced the effect intended by the writer, who, on the return of her messenger, received from Antony the tenderest assurances of affection and fidelity. She had also the satisfaction of learning that, on hearing of the nuptials of Octavius with Scribonia, he had advanced towards Italy, without taking leave of Fulvia, whom he left at Scyon, or showing any concern for an indisposition under which she then laboured. A valuable present was at the same time sent by Antony, as a testimony of his love, to his mistress. Fulvia survived not long this new instance of her husband's contempt, while her rival rejoiced at an event which she fancied secured to her for ever the heart of her lover.

Antony having made a league with Pompey against Octavius, the queen of Egypt flattered herself that he would be enabled to lay the world at her feet. Ventidius, his lieutenant, recovered for him Parthia and Syria, while Antony was besieging Brundusium, the gates of which had been shut against him by the order of Octavius, whose troops murmured at being compelled to turn their arms against their former commander; a disposition which promised to facilitate to Antony a victory or an honourable peace.

In the midst of these flattering prospects, an event took place that appeared to give to the hopes of Cleopatra a mortal blow. Through the interposition of Julia, the mother of Antony, he became reconciled to Octavius, from whom he received, as a pledge of their union, the hand of his sister Octavia. Octavius and Antony, leading Octavia between them, had entered Rome in triumph, amidst the acclamations of the army and people. A new division was made of the empire, by which the western provinces, including Gaul, were given to Octavius, while to Antony was allotted the empire of the east. Codropolis, a town of Illyria, on the confines of Macedon, was appointed the boundary between their domains: Africa was to remain in the possession of Lepidus, and the dominion of Sicily to be continued with Pompey. In token of his entire satisfaction with these measures, Antony accepted the priesthood of the temple newly erected in honour of Julius Cæsar by Octavius his successor.

The queen of Egypt, filled with surprise and anguish, was, on the first tidings of what had taken place, nearly deprived of sense and life. On the recovery of her faculties, fury succeeded to grief; she struck the messenger of the unwelcome news, and would have stabbed him to the heart, had he not saved himself by a precipitate flight. She vented her passions, unaccustomed to control, in rage and execration; while all who surrounded her suffered the effects of her vehemence and disappointment. The tumult of her feelings having abated, she sought to learn the character of a rival, the report of whose youth and beauty had filled her with dismay. In the description of the mild, unassuming virtues of Octavia, she found some alleviation to her despair: acquainted with the temper of Antony, she felt a conviction that his passions, accustomed to a stronger stimulus, would languish in the possession of a woman whose simple

goodness and unaffected graces could but feebly affect a vitiated taste, and a heart exhausted by voluptuous excesses. To this confidence in her own discernment, and in her knowledge of her lover, other circumstances were added which tended to cherish a latent and almost expiring hope. Antony had, on a frivolous pretence, caused Marsius to suffer death; a man who, by freely censuring his connexion with the queen of Egypt, had exasperated Fulvia, and occasioned the war which the present alliance had so happily terminated. He also loaded with favours an astrologer whom, at the recommendation of Cleopatra, he had brought with him from Egypt, and who, with a view of ensnaring him to return, perpetually declared, that his fortune, however glorious, was overshadowed by that of Octavius, from whom it behoved him to remove to a distance. 'Your genius,' he was accustomed to repeat, 'is menaced by his; in his absence your are great; in the presence of your rival, you sink into comparative littleness. In every contention, even in every game, you are vanquished by Octavius.' Antony, disgusted and humbled by these representations, which were not without a foundation in truth, resigned, after a time, to Octavius the regulation of Rome; and, quitting Italy, repaired with his wife to Athens.

Here he again gave the reins to his inclinations, and plunged into dissipation and pleasure: yet, at intervals, emerging from these excesses, he courted the society of the learned; while Octavia, by her virtues, conciliated the popular esteem. To fill up the measure of his extravagance, Antony assumed the title and insignia of Bacchus, under which he caused himself to be worshipped by the Athenians in a temple near the city. He also ordered a throne to be erected in a grotto, to which was given the name of the Cave of Bacchus; and where, enervated by soft music, he indulged in voluptuousness. To his effeminacy was added an insatiable rapacity: the Athenians having supplicated their new deity to take to wife Pallas, their tutelary goddess and protectress, he consented to their request, but stipulated that the goddess should bring to him, as her dowry, a thousand talents. The servile crowd, alarmed by the consequences of their absurd and licentious superstition, hesitated at this unexpected demand, while they alleged in reply, that his father Jupiter had exacted no portion with his

mother Semele. 'True,' answered their new god; 'my father was rich, but I stand in need of money.' The ridiculous festival of the nuptials of Bacchus with Pallas was kept in all the Peloponnesian towns; each, in its proportion, contributing to defray the expenses. Antony, charmed with his new dignity, which had proved more than an empty title, ordered the name of Bacchus to be inscribed at the feet of every statue which had been raised to his honour.

From Athens he sailed to Syria, for the regulation of his affairs, and thence returned to Athens; where, irritated by some reports concerning Octavius, he remained but a short time. Having departed for Italy with a fleet of an hundred sail, and being refused harbour at Brundusium, he sailed indignantly to Tarentum. From Tarentum, Octavia, who accompanied her husband, and who was then pregnant, prevailed on him to suffer her to repair to her brother. Having met Octavius on the road, she held with him a conference in the presence of two of his friends, by her tears and representations softened his anger, induced him to yield his resentments, to accompany her back to Tarentum, and to make an amicable visit to Antony. It was in this interview mutually agreed, that Octavius should give to his brother-in-law two legions, and one thousand foot soldiers, to serve in the Parthian war, while Antony should leave with him one hundred armed galleys and twenty brigantines. After parting on terms of cordiality, Octavius prepared to dispute Sicily with Sextus Pompeius; while Antony, leaving with her brother his wife and family, sailed for Asia.

Cleopatra, who had been watchful of his steps, seized this occasion to allure her captive back to her arms. She had entrusted with one of her spies a letter to be put into the hands of Antony whenever he should be separated from Octavia. This letter, containing a mixture of submission and tenderness, of insinuations and reflections, calculated to touch the heart, and rouse the pride of him to whom it was addressed, could scarcely fail of its purpose. Should Antony, it intimated, show compassion for the only woman who had really loved him, and who was ready to expire the victim of his neglect, Octavius, to whose power and fortune respect was certainly due, would, it was but too probable, vindicate the cause of his sister. The vain and feeble-minded Antony, softened by the

recollection of his former mistress, and the images which she had conjured up of her passion and of her despair, and piqued at the supposition of his being held in vassalage by the brother of his wife, determined, by the sacrifice of his principles, to assert his courage and independence. The queen of Egypt (learning from her agent the impression which her epistle had produced) continued daily to importune him with messages; till, on his arrival in Syria, Antony, against the remonstrances and entreaties of his friends, sent to her to join him.

This summons was heard with exultation, and obeyed with facility. Antony advanced to receive his mistress on her way, and to conduct her himself to his palace. On their meeting, she affected an air the most humble and submissive, and prostrated herself before him; when he raised and embraced her in a transport of joy and passion.

The purpose of Cleopatra thus accomplished, and her triumph over her rival complete, she resumed her former artifices; banished from the presence of Antony his friends; and, plunging him in dissolute pleasures, barred, by her insinuations, and by the whirl of dissipation, in which reflection was drowned, every avenue of his heart against the virtuous Octavia. Apparently watchful of his interest and safety, new alarms of plots and treacheries were daily fabricated; while by multiplied confiscations her rapacity was gratified, and the hearts of the people alienated from Antony. Lysanius, whom he had made king of Chalcis, and for whose spoils she thirsted, was sacrificed by him to the avarice of his mistress: Cyrene, Cyprus, Cœlo-Syria, Iturea, and Phenicia, with great part of Cilicia and Crete, were added to her dominions. The kingdoms of Judea and Arabia, over which Herod and Malchus reigned, became objects of her ambition: to possess herself of their territories, she brought an accusation of tyranny and maladministration against Herod; while Malchus, she affirmed, had favoured the enemies of her lover.

These affairs were yet undecided when the season of the year called upon Antony to quit Antioch, and to march towards Armenia. Cleopatra, afraid of trusting him out of her presence, accompanied him to the banks of the Euphrates; where, by her caprices, dissipating his attention, and occupy-

ing his time, she caused him to neglect the warlike preparations indispensable for the occasion. It was here that, apprehensive lest the chance of war might deprive her of the advantages which she derived from his infatuation, she again importuned him to grant to her the kingdoms of Judea and Arabia. Herod and Malchus attended at Laodicea the summons of the triumvir, to clear themselves from the charges preferred against them. The injustice of the process appeared so manifest, that, notwithstanding the arts and solicitations of their formidable adversary, Antony contented himself with dismembering their dominions. Jericho and the balsam gardens were taken from Herod; and from Malchus, Arabia Nabath, famed for its perfumes.

The profusion of Antony, however lavish, was insufficient to gratify his venal mistress. On being reproached for his extravagant donations, 'the greatness of the Roman empire,' replied he, with a specious magnanimity, 'consists in bestowing rather than in conquering kingdoms.'

Cleopatra, compelled at length to leave her lover to the prosecution of the Parthian war, omitted no artifice before her departure that might tend to insure his return. To beguile the time during the interval of his absence, she passed through the principal towns of Syria; and, coming to Judea, was received by Herod, who sought, with respectful attentions, to procure her favour and interest. She is accused of having been prompted by vanity, during her stay in the court of Judea, to rival his beloved Mariamne in the affections of Herod, who, either blind to the charms of the Egyptian, or aware of the danger of contesting a heart with Antony, affected to overlook her advances; while he confined his behaviour to a distant and respectful homage. Mortified by the coldness or the prudence of Herod, rage succeeded to coquetry in the heart of the vindictive queen, who silently meditated the future destruction of the man who contemned her attractions. With a view of softening the malignant spirit of his guest, Herod, on her departure, attended her to the boundaries of Egypt; where, on taking his leave, he loaded her with magnificent presents.

On her return to Alexandria, Cleopatra received intelligence, that Octavius having made a glorious campaign, had conquered Sicily, whence he had driven Sextus Pompeius;

also that he had compelled Lepidas to renounce the dignity of a triumvir. That the senate of Rome, lavishing honours on its hero, had decreed to him and to his family a festival in the capitol. At the same time, a messenger arrived from Antony with news of an opposite nature: his impatience to return to Egypt, had, notwithstanding his formidable power, which had spread throughout Asia terror and dismay, rendered his campaign disastrous: harassed and defeated in all his projects, having lost in the expedition more than thirty thousand of his best troops, he had been compelled to make an inglorious retreat. To this intelligence was added, that having with difficulty reached Leucone in safety, he there impatiently awaited his mistress. The mortification which this account produced was in some degree softened to Cleopatra by the reflection, that it was to the power of her charms that the discomfiture of Antony might be attributed; her presence and her fascinations having robbed him of his accustomed activity.

Couriers succeeded to couriers to hasten her departure, the impatience of her lover enduring no delay: while he waited her coming, anxiety and grief evidently preyed upon his health. Cleopatra was, by an earnestness so flattering, induced still to procrastinate her journey; wantoning in her power of giving pain, and gratified by the extravagance and infatuation of her lover. When she at length joined him, his transports knew no bounds: having brought with her clothing and presents for the troops, magnificent liberalities were added to her gift by Antony, who contrived to give to his mistress all the honour. By her advice, he softened and falsified, in a letter to the senate, his unsuccessful campaign, of which the truth had already reached them. Octavius, nevertheless, on the receipt of his letters, ordered thanks to be offered to the gods for his success.

Octavia, who had remained at Rome during this interval, now solicited permission of her brother to depart in search of her husband. Her request was the more readily granted, as Octavius foresaw, in the indignity with which she would be treated by Antony, a pretence for a rupture, which he had for some time meditated. Carrying with her magnificent presents from her brother, Octavia immediately commenced her journey.

Cleopatra, alarmed by the purpose of her rival, prevailed,

by her insinuations, on Antony to signify to his wife, that she should wait at Athens, till the embarrassments of his affairs should allow him the satisfaction of joining her. Octavia, but too sensible of the truth, appeared to acquiesce in these pretences, and, resigning herself with respect to the commands of her husband, entreated only to be informed in what manner she was to dispose of the money and horses, the presents for his friends and officers, and the clothing for his soldiers, with which she was charged. She had also brought with her two thousand chosen soldiers for recruiting the prætorian cohorts, which had suffered during the campaign. Nieger, a friend of Antony, was deputed with this message, who concluded his commission with high and just praises of the virtues and conduct of Octavia. In this panegyric, the queen of Egypt, who was present, affected to join, yet not without artful allusions to the relationship which she bore to the victorious and powerful Octavius.

The purpose of Antony was, in union with the king of Media, once more to take the field against the Parthians; but Cleopatra, apprehensive lest he should, when so near, visit Athens and Octavia, redoubled her efforts to turn him from his design. She affected to deprecate his absence in transports of grief and passion; while she sought to persuade him that the moment of their separation must inevitably be that of her death: by refusing to take nourishment, and by a studied negligence in her air and dress, she contrived to appear wasted by sickness and sorrow: when Antony entered her apartment, she would assume an air of grief and surprise; and with eyes bathed in tears, which she yet seemed to struggle to suppress, appear, when he quitted her, to sink into anguish and despondency. Her creatures, by whom she had surrounded him, aided her views by their arguments, their representations, and their appeals to his passions. A dupe to the blandishments of a vain and capricious woman, whose tenderness was a fiction to cover her venal purposes, Antony became entangled in the toils which encompassed him, through which he wanted firmness to break: his projects were abandoned, and, while Octavia awaited him at Athens, he suffered himself to be led in triumph, the scorn of an indignant world, by Cleopatra back to Alexandria.

Yet, unsatisfied with her victory, she left no means unessayed to prevail on her lover to treat with indignity his blameless wife; and, without admitting her to his presence, to order her back to Rome. By irritating his pride and his jealousy of Octavius, whose power she extolled and magnified, she at length brought him to her purpose. To assert his independence, and humble his rival, Antony heroically determined to insult and outrage his admirable wife. Cleopatra, by seeming to oppose it, strengthened his resolution, till her design was fully completed. Octavia received the commands of her husband, in which a studied contempt was mingled with asperity, to quit Athens, and to return to Rome. Without condescending to contest with her rival, she meekly obeyed the mandate, and prepared for her departure.

Sextus Pompeius, who had about this period been driven from Sicily by Octavius, sought protection from Antony; and, at the same time, lest his negotiation should fail, had, by his ambassadors, endeavoured to secure for himself a refuge with the Parthians. This duplicity, which had been betrayed to Antony, Pompeius sought to excuse on the plea of necessity and distress. The queen of Egypt, with a view to strengthen her party against Rome, espoused the cause of Pompeius; but, persevering in a crooked policy, he at length fell into the hands of his enemy Titius, who, having against him a personal pique, put a period to his life, by a pretended mistake of the orders of Antony. On this event, disappointed in her plans, Cleopatra induced Antony to turn his arms against Artabazes, the king of Armenia, whose dominions she thirsted to annex to her own. Artabazes, pretending to be the ally of Antony, had, during the Parthian war, treacherously withdrawn his troops, the consequences of which had been fatal to the campaign.

While Antony was absent on this expedition, Cleopatra heard with rage and mortification of the fortune of Octavius in Illyria, who, crowned with success, carried the glory of the Roman arms where, till now, its name had been unknown. To this intelligence it was added, that he had, with the spoils of the Illyrian war, raised a magnificent portico, ornamented with pictures and statues of inestimable value, on which was placed the standard taken from the enemy, and which he had consecrated to the honour of his sister Octavia. To increase the

anguish and malignity of Cleopatra, she also learned that her rival, on her return to Rome, resisting the entreaties of her brother to abandon the house of her unworthy husband, had declared, that no injuries from Antony should induce her to forget the duties of a wife, to which it was her determination, in every instance, to adhere. Remaining in his house, she had, in conformity to this resolution, devoted herself to the cares of his family, and reared, with her own children, those of Fulvia, his former wife. His friends were also received by her with kindness, while she promoted their interest and preferment with her brother. In the most cruel species of widowhood, she lived at Rome, amidst the sympathy and affection of her family, and the respect and admiration of the people.

Cleopatra sickened at the virtues and magnanimity of her rival, whose superiority she could scarcely conceal from herself: incapable of a generous emulation, she determined to leave no effort unessayed to shake her fortitude, and tarnish her reputation.

Addressing herself to Antony, she implored his return, and exhorted him, should force or stratagem prove ineffectual for the conquest of Armenia, to delay his operations till another season. To this request was added a declaration, that she was unable any longer to endure their separation.

A civil war with Octavius was the project now revolving in the thoughts of Cleopatra; her restless ambition aspired to the empire of the world, in the humiliation of the family of her rival. Occupied by these plans, she gave the reins to her imagination, indulging in fancied triumphs in the capitol of Rome, where she seemed already in idea to trample her adversaries under her feet. Dazzled with vanity, and frenzied with passion, she beheld no obstacles to her wishes: every difficulty receded before her ardent fancy, while she waited in breathless expectation the return of Antony, in whose presence she saw the accomplishment of her darling plans.

Hastily obeying her summons, he arrived in Alexandria, having adopted the insidious policy recommended to him by his mistress, of betraying into his power, under fair pretences, and by solemn engagements, the king of Armenia, whom, with his family, he brought back with him in chains. His entrance into the city was by a triumphal procession in the manner of

the Romans, in which Artabazes and his family, their misfortunes aggravated by insult and mockery, preceded the chariot of victory. The procession, which in Rome terminated at the temple of Jupiter, ended in Egypt at the foot of the throne; where Cleopatra, surrounded by the people, received, as a goddess, the homage of the victor. The royal captives, presented in fetters to the queen, having refused with sullen dignity the prostration demanded of them, experienced, in their subsequent treatment, the vindictive malice of a mind to which magnanimity was a stranger.

A short time after his return, Antony gave a festival to the Alexandrians, whom he afterwards assembled in the place of public exercises; where seated, with their queen, on a throne of gold, he declared Cæsario, the son of Cleopatra and Julius Cæsar, in conjunction with his mother, sovereign of Egypt, Cyprus, Lybia, and Cœlo-Syria. Among the three children which she had borne to himself, he divided the remainder of his dominions in the east; to Alexander, the eldest, he gave Armenia, Media, Parthia, and the country which should be yet subdued from the Euphrates to India. To Cleopatra, his twin sister, he gave Lybia and Cyrene; and on Philadelphus, the younger, he bestowed Phenicia, Syria, Cilicia, with the countries of the Lesser Asia, from the Euphrates to the Hellespont: while he conferred on each the title of king of kings. The princes, in the appropriate habits of the respective countries bestowed upon them, rising from their seats as the ceremony concluded, approached the throne, and, putting one knee to the ground, kissed the hands of Antony and Cleopatra. A retinue suited to their new dignities was assigned to them, with regiments of guards drawn from the families of the principal nobility.

To the queen was given the name of Isis, while Antony assumed to himself that of Osiris, the tutelar deities of the Egyptians. They appeared in public in the habits of these divinities; while, in a studied oration, Antony made the panegyric of his mistress, acknowledging her as the lawful wife and widow of Julius Cæsar, to whose rights her son was justly intitled. The eldest son of Antony and Fulvia, present on this occasion, was passed over with entire neglect.

This youth had been brought to Egypt at the request of

Cleopatra, who, humbled by the generosity of Octavia, was desirous of withdrawing from her protection the children of Antony. Having, by her blandishments, prompted the prodigality of her lover towards her children, she had, at the same time, instigated him to assert the legality of the birth of Cæsarian, with a view of irritating Octavius, by raising to him a rival in the empire, to an incurable rupture with Antony.

But, amidst her aspiring projects, she omitted not, by inexhaustible varieties of luxury and pleasure, to rivet her chains on the voluptuous Antony. At a splendid feast which he had caused to be prepared for her, she affected to undervalue the entertainment, boasting that she would, in her turn, provide for him a supper, on which should be expended more than a million of sesterces.* Antony, mortified at her raillery, dared her to the performance of her engagement. The evening was accordingly appointed, and the supper served up, in which there appeared to be nothing extraordinary. Antony smiling, called for a bill of the amount. Cleopatra with an appearance of good-humour, suffered his raillery for some time in silence: at length, taking from her ear a pearl of immense value, and dissolving it in vinegar, she swallowed it, inviting her lover to pledge her with that which remained.† Lucius Blancus, who stood near the queen, snatched from her hand the gem, declaring the wager to be already decided. For a moment Antony appeared confounded, till Cleopatra, laughing gaily, assured him, that not only these pearls, transmitted to her from a long race of illustrious ancestors, but the world itself, were it at her disposal, should, to afford him one moment's gratification, be lavished without regret. Transported by a compliment thus extravagant, Antony was careful to return, by a profuse magnificence, the gallantry of his mistress.

The contest between the rival heroes now drew near to a decision; the rendezvous of the fleet was appointed at Ephesus, whither Antony sailed with the queen of Egypt. His force

* Centies, H. S. Hoc est centies centena millies sestertiûm. 52,500*l.* sterling. ROLLIN.

† The remaining pearl was afterwards consecrated to Venus by Augustus, who carried it to Rome, on his return from Alexandria; and, having caused it to be cut in two, its size was so extraordinary, that it served for pendents in the ears of the goddess.

consisted of eight hundred vessels. Egypt supplied for the maintenance of two hundred of these, twenty thousand talents, with provision for the whole army, during the continuance of the war. The friends of Antony pressed him to send back Cleopatra to wait in Alexandria the event of the battle; but, dreading lest she should be made the sacrifice of a new reconciliation between the chiefs, she left no means untried to secure her stay. Canidious was bribed by her to plead her cause with Antony, and to paint to him the injustice of depriving, of her share of the glory, the woman who had so largely contributed to the charge of the expedition. To this he added a representation of the impolicy of disgusting the Egyptians, who composed a great part of the naval force, and concluded by commending the talents and prudence of their queen. Cleopatra entering during this remonstrance, completed, by her blandishments, the seduction of her lover, who yielded blindly to all her demands.

From Ephesus they sailed to Samos, where the allies of Antony were to bring the stores stipulated for his use. While he appeared thoughtful for the event of so important a contest, Cleopatra, alarmed lest he should be meditating a compromise with Octavius, invited to Samos every art and every diversion, that could beguile anxiety or dissipate apprehension. The allies emulated each other in gallantry and magnificence; spectacles occupied the day, and carousals shortened the night; Samos became a new Alexandria, while every thing wore the aspect of triumph and joy. 'How,' said the reflecting few, 'will they celebrate their victories, who commence a war with such useless expense?'

In despite of the enchantments of this Circe, a cloud still hung on the brow of the chief; he became morose, suspicious of those who surrounded him, and distrustful even of the queen herself. He appeared restless with undefined apprehensions, and would take no sustenance till it had first been tasted. Cleopatra, solicitous to cure him of these inquietudes, and, more than all, hurt by his apparent distrust of herself, determined to convince him, by a stratagem, of her power and his injustice. She caused the tops of a garland, which they were accustomed, on festivals, to wear on their heads, to be dipped

in a subtle poison, and, in the midst of the entertainment, when wine had banished all care, proposed as ingsport that the flowers should be thrown into the bowl. With this frolic, Antony, accustomed to her caprices, immediately complied, and, raising the vessel to his lips, was about to pledge her in the poisoned liquor. 'Hold, my friend,' said she, seizing his hand, 'I am the poisoner, against whom you employ these useless precautions. If it were possible for me to live without you, judge whether I should want the opportunity or provocation to render them fruitless.' She then, having sent for a criminal, obliged him to drink from the bowl, when he instantly expired at her feet. Antony seemed for some moments lost in astonishment, till Cleopatra, observing his features soften, burst into a passionate flood of tears, and with difficulty suffered herself to be appeased by his apologies and caresses.

From Samos they directed their course to Athens, where the queen, jealous of the respect paid by the Athenians to Octavia, courted, by her allurements and powers of insinuation, popular favour. Skilled in the arts of address, she ensnared by her attractions the fickle Athenians, and triumphed over their prejudices: a deputation of the citizens, led by Antony, to whom the freedom of the city had been presented, attended her at her palace, and public honours were decreed to her. But her restless jealousy was yet unsatisfied, while Octavia remained with his children in the house of Antony: with unprincipled malignity, she endeavoured to give the colour of guilt to the virtues of her rival, and to persuade Antony, that her forbearance and magnanimity were affected for the purpose of aggravating his faults, by thus contrasting them with her ostentatious virtue. Antony, eager to avail himself of a supposition which seemed to lighten the load of his own infamy, caught at the barbarous suggestion, of the reality of which he chose not to doubt.

An officer was commissioned to drive with contumely Octavia from the house of her husband: bursting into tears from a reflection on the probable consequences which would ensue from this outrage, she meekly obeyed the mandate, and took with her the children of the unworthy Antony, whose conduct she laboured to palliate to her brother, leaving no means unessayed that might tend to allay his anger, and soften his sense of the indignities she had suffered.

But to the jaundiced eye of Antony, whose heart, corrupted by an artful and unprincipled woman, had perverted his judgment, the mild heroism of his wife appeared but as a new evidence of her guilt and duplicity.

The facility with which Cleopatra moulded the character and abused the affections of her lover, rendered her caprices unbounded, and drove from him every person whose aid or counsel might, in the critical posture of his affairs, have proved beneficial. She engaged him to confirm by a will his gifts to her and her children, and again solemnly to declare the legitimacy of the birth of Cæsarian. The body of Antony, should he fall by the chance of war, was directed to be conveyed to Alexandria, and interred by the queen of Egypt. This testament, witnessed by Minucius Plancus and his nephew, was deposited in the hands of the vestal virgins. Disgusted by the weakness of Antony, and irritated by the caprices of his mistress, the secret of the will was afterwards revealed by the witnesses to Octavius, who, having found means to get it from the vestals, read it publicly in the senate. A dependent of Octavius gave him, at the same time, information that Antony had bestowed on Cleopatra the library of Pergamus, which contained two thousand volumes: to this intelligence, various anecdotes were added in proof of the blind infatuation of the triumvir, and his contempt of decorum. He was accused of having risen abruptly, in the midst of a solemn feast, to attend an assignation with his mistress; of having suffered the Ephesians to salute her as their queen; of having, during public audiences to princes and ambassadors, received and read openly messages of gallantry, inscribed on tablets of onyx and crystal. Also, that on Cleopatra's passing the hall of audience in her chair, while Turnius, a Roman of distinction was pleading, Antony, as under the power of magic, had, to attend her, left the cause unfinished. It was likewise alleged, that he had assigned to her a Roman guard, who bore her name on their targets. That, in their progress through the towns and cities, he followed on foot her magnificent car, undistinguished from her train of attendants. That the favourite oath of Cleopatra was, 'by the right of commanding the capital,' which she trusted would shortly be hers. No submission of her infatuated lover, no caprice, however wild or absurd, was omitted in this detail,

which failed not to provoke the astonishment of the grave and indignant senate.

The friends of Antony at Rome deputed to him Germinius to inform him of the state of affairs, to exhort him to greater discretion, to warn him that his government and office of consul were about to be taken from him, when he would be declared the enemy of Rome. The queen of Egypt exerted all her arts to prevent a conference between Antony and Germinius, whose purpose she suspected, and whom she sought, by persecution and insult, to drive from the camp. But, perceiving him determined to defeat her efforts, she prevailed on Antony to invite him to a supper, and to interrogate him publicly on the affairs with which he was charged. Germinius, in reply to a demand thus imprudent, declared that his business was worthy a serious conference. One part of it however, he should deliver without reserve, which was, 'that the affairs of the consul would bear a less menacing aspect, should the queen of Egypt return to Alexandria.' Antony, as Cleopatra had foreseen, was disgusted by this abruptness. 'You have done well,' said she, scornfully, to Germinius, 'to confess, without the rack, this important secret.' Aware of the temper of the woman whom he had the temerity to insult, and who meditated against him a cruel revenge, Germinius wisely retreated and returned to Rome.

The warlike preparations of Antony were in such advance, that had he promptly and vigorously attacked his opponent, his advantage would have been inevitable; but, immersed in luxury and dissipation, he suffered the opportunity to escape, and, by his delays, gave time to Octavius to collect and assemble his forces.

War was, however, at length declared in form, but in the declaration, which spoke only of the queen of Egypt, the name of the consul was omitted. Antony, whom it was said a woman ruled, or rather an enchantress fascinated by her powerful spells, was pronounced incapable of his offices. It was not against their consul that the Romans professed to exercise hostilities, but against Mardion the eunuch, Photinus, Iras, and Charmion, the women of Cleopatra, whom Antony had adopted for his ministers and counsellors. On the part of the Romans, two hundred and fifty galleys, well equipped, were pre-

pared, with twelve thousand horse, and eighty thousand foot. On that of Antony, five hundred ships of war, of extraordinary size and structure, with high towers on their heads and sterns, as for show and triumph: but, unable to procure a sufficient number of mariners for this equipment, the vessels were ill manned, with husbandmen, artificers, and persons void of experience. On board this fleet were two hundred thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse. The galley of the queen of Egypt was resplendent with gold, its sails of purple floated in the wind, while trumpets and instruments of war swelled prematurely with notes of joy and victory. Eleven kings attended Antony as allies. Herod had provided an army for the occasion, but, for the private interest of Cleopatra, was, by her advice, ordered to turn his arms on Malchus king of Arabia, who, taking advantage of the present situation of affairs, had withheld from the queen of Egypt the tribute extorted from him.

The tract of land between the Euphrates and the Ionian sea, with great part of Illyria, was under the government of Antony. That of Cæsar comprehended from Illyria to the western ocean, and thence along the Tuscan and Sicilian seas. In the division of Africa, the coast opposite to Italy, with Gaul and Spain, were allotted to Octavius. To Antony the provinces from Cyrea to Ethiopia. The fate of the world was thus about to be decided by the ambition of a woman, who had determined to be mistress of its undivided empire, or to perish miserably in the attempt.

The celebrated battle of Actium now drew near. The friends of Antony laboured to persuade him to rely for success on his land forces, which surpassed in strength those of his adversary, while his navy was but inadequately supplied. But the counsel of Cleopatra prevailed, who believed that in a naval victory more honour would redound to the Egyptians, of whose vessels the greater part of the fleet was composed, while, a defeat by land would more immediately expose to the conqueror the safety of Alexandria, and of her own person. The engagement having commenced in sight of both armies, drawn up on the shores, Agrippa, who commanded the left squadron of Octavius, extended his wing, with a view of hemming in the enemy. Publicola, who commanded the right wing in conjunction with Antony, observing his manœuvre,

found himself, to oppose the design of Agrippa, compelled to occupy a greater space. By this motion he left the main body weakened, which, pushed at the same time vigorously by Arruntius, was considerably discouraged. Cleopatra, from the disposition of the fleet, conceiving the victory to be doubtful, was seized with consternation; and, intent only on escaping, or, in the last resort, of making her peace with the conqueror by betraying her lover, she crowded her sails, and, flying across the vessels engaged, disordered the fleet of Antony, by compelling it to open and give way, as she steered her course, followed by the whole Egyptian squadron, towards Peloponnesus. Antony, struck by this circumstance with confusion and despair, threw himself, with Scellius and Alexander of Syria, into a galley of five banks of oars, and precipitately pursued his mistress. Cleopatra, full of the project of appeasing Octavius, by abandoning to his destiny the man who for her had scorned a prostrate world, saw him not till the galley had nearly overtaken her bark. Perplexed how to act in this critical conjuncture of affairs, her first thoughts were to refuse him admission; till the suggestions of interest, yielding to those of pride and shame, to the fear of infamy, and the possible contempt even of the victor himself, to whom she meditated submission, induced her to receive Antony into the vessel.

In silence, and without deigning to cast a glance towards her, he placed himself in a desponding attitude, his head reclining on his hands, at the stern of the bark, where he continued for three days, till his arrival at Tenarus. In the midst of this distress, Cleopatra yet felt a secret satisfaction in the sacrifice paid to her vanity, when Antony, before a gazing world, abandoned its prospects and dignities, his friends, his interest, his principles, and his honour, to be the partner of her ignominious flight.

At Tenarus she determined, in despite of the injuries he had sustained, to effect with him a reconciliation. For this purpose, she caused her women to represent to him the excess of her contrition and sorrow, and to attribute her error to the softness and timidity of her sex. To these representations was added an affecting picture of her tears and her beauty, which even grief could not rob of its lustre. Perceiving Antony sof-

tened by the images they had presented to his imagination, her attendants, to whom their lesson had been taught, artfully availed themselves of the generosity of his temper, which, they insinuated, must prevent him from loading with additional sorrows the partner of his misfortunes, whom disappointment had already overwhelmed. The reconciliation was at length accomplished, in which Antony was brought to act the part of a suppliant, and to receive with gratitude the favour which his mistress, with the dignity of an offended queen, deigned to yield him.

The vessels and friends of Antony, which had escaped the wreck of his fortunes, now arrived: their accounts of the bravery and fidelity of the fleet, which refused, till abandoned by its officers, to listen to the agents of Octavius, gave a pang even to the heart of Cleopatra, who at length began to suspect that she had betrayed her own cause. The land forces, consisting of eighteen legions, and two-and-twenty thousand horse, still remained unbroken, under the command of Canidius; but, on finding themselves abandoned by their generals, they surrendered to the Romans, who received them with open arms.

Antony, vanquished and desponding, attended only by two friends, wandered through various parts of Africa, while the queen of Egypt, no longer solicitous for his presence, returned to Alexandria, meditating how she might sacrifice him to her safety. To deceive the Alexandrians, she sailed into port with crowns on the prows of her vessels, as denoting victory: but, finding by her spies that suspicions of the truth were already entertained, and murmurs heard, several of the popular nobles became the victims of her jealousy.

Antony, deserted and an exile, received information, to fill up the measure of his calamities, that the commander whom he had appointed in Lybia, to whose charge his remaining troops had been committed, was gone over to the enemy. Despair, on this intelligence, prompted him to put an end to his misfortunes with his life; but, withheld by a friend from his desperate purpose, his heart once more turned towards Alexandria, where Cleopatra was meditating how to elude his return. Occupied with her plan of conciliating his rival, or of escaping for the present his power, she formed a project of abandoning Egypt. Between the Egyptian and the Red seas, a small neck

of land, thirty-six miles over in its narrowest part, separated Asia and Africa. Over this isthmus she proposed that twenty galleys should be carried or drawn, and launched into the Red Sea: in these vessels she designed to embark with her treasures, and seek a remote country, where by her arts or resources she might retrieve her ruined fortunes. The first galleys, after having been successfully conveyed over the neck of land, were destroyed and burned by the Arabians of Petra: on this event, the enterprise was abandoned, and orders issued for fortifying the avenues to the kingdom.

Antony, on his arrival at Alexandria, met a reception so cold and repulsive, that he was compelled to retire to the isle of Pharos, where, having erected a house on the seaside, he gave to it the name of *Timonium*, intimating that, like the Athenian Timon, he was in his adversity forsaken by his friends. At this crisis, Cleopatra received an intimation, that Herod had sent to advise Antony, as the only remedy for his broken fortunes, to deprive of her dominions the perfidious queen of Egypt, to punish her with death, and to return to Octavia, through whose mediation he might yet make his peace with her brother. Cleopatra, alarmed by this account, and haunted by the idea of the possible triumph of her rival, sent messengers to Antony, excusing what had past, and pressing his return to Alexandria. The weak Roman, falling into the snare, was again plunged in revels and debauchery, which by their intoxicating effects precluded the possibility of reflection, and lulled his senses into a fatal torpor. The order of *The Inimitable Livers* was dissolved, and that of *The Diers Together* substituted in its place, with no less luxury, splendor, and profusion. Doubtful of the success of her intrigues with the conqueror, Cleopatra determined to be prepared for their failure; and, rather than swell the Roman triumph, to perish by a voluntary death. With this view, she caused experiments of every species of vegetable or animal poison to be made on criminals, the consequences of which she personally witnessed, to ascertain the speediest and least painful death. Among these the venom of the asp obtained the suffrage, the effect of which was to operate as a narcotic, without spasm or apparent pain. She likewise ordered to be constructed, adjoining to the temple of Isis, several tombs and monuments of stupen-

dous height and exquisite workmanship: to these she removed her treasures, consisting of gold and silver, emeralds, pearls, ebony, ivory, and cinnamon; to which was added, by her order, a considerable quantity of aromatic wood, flax, and torches.

Octavius, whose affairs had called him to Rome, alarmed at these preparations, of which he was informed, and which threatened to deprive him of the reward of his toils, resolved on dissembling, and encouraging, by external marks of respect, the hopes of the Egyptian queen. Embassies, with flattering offers and promises, arrived daily at Alexandria, hostilities having been suspended at the approach of winter.

On the return of spring, the conqueror, by long and hasty marches through Syria, approached the capital of Egypt. Cleopatra, agitated by contending interests, and unable to determine on the course proper to pursue, deputed ambassadors to the victor, to petition that Egypt might be left to herself and her children, while Antony desired leave to remain there, or to retire to Athens in a private station. The queen transmitted, at the same time, privately to Octavius, a golden sceptre, crown, and chair. To the request of Antony no answer was vouchsafed, but the couriers of Cleopatra were commissioned to assure her, that, on the condition of sacrificing Antony, no reasonable indulgence would be refused to her. By her subtle questions to the emissaries of the conqueror, she perceived cause to distrust the sincerity of his propositions, which she yet hesitated to fulfil. In the sacrifice of her lover she would have found little difficulty; but, aware of the cold and crafty temper of Octavius, she doubted not but that, having first made her infamous by the desertion of the man she had ruined, he meditated to allure her into his power, to swell the pomp of triumph, and gratify the supposed rage of her rival. In this conviction, she boasted to Antony of her devotion to his cause, and determination to share his destiny. Transported by these assurances, her credulous and generous lover offered to Octavius, on condition of securing to Cleopatra her possessions, to perish by his own hand. This proposition was received in silence, on which Antony sent, by his son Antyllus, a third embassy, accompanied by a present of

gold, to the Roman camp, to which the same taciturnity was preserved.

To Cleopatra, promises and threats were renewed, with a view to divert her mind from the execution of any desperate purpose. Thyreus, a man of address and insinuation, was more particularly deputed to the queen, to hint to her that the conqueror, captivated by her beauty, was disposed to lay his laurels at her feet. Intoxicated by a flattery so according with her confidence in her charms, she loaded Thyreus with favours and presents, while, by the frequent and long conferences in which she indulged him, she roused the suspicions of Antony, who, having caused him to be chastised, dismissed him ignominiously from court. The queen, still judging it necessary to preserve appearances, lest a return to his wife should reconcile her lover to Octavius, and defeat her meditated plans, found means to appease the jealousy of Antony, and to lull to repose all his suspicions. The anniversary of the day of his birth was celebrated by her with splendor and magnificence, while that of her own she affected to overlook. Her fascinations produced their usual success; Antony, transported by these marks of her affection, exceeded on the festival she had instituted to his honour his usual profusion, and enriched his guests with a lavish bounty.

While thus acting on the passions of her lover, Cleopatra was secretly and earnestly negotiating with his enemy. Seleucus, her governor in Pelusium, was ordered to surrender the citadel to the Romans, while, to veil her perfidy, she basely sacrificed to the vengeance of Antony his wife and family. No sooner had he possessed himself of Pelusium, than Octavius directed his force against Alexandria: the citizens, whom Antony sought to encourage to repel the foe, had private orders from the queen to lay down before him their arms. The spirit of Antony, in the first sally, notwithstanding prevailed; the horse of the enemy was routed and driven back to their entrenchments, while, returning in arms to the palace, he saluted the queen, and recommended to her notice an officer who had distinguished himself in the engagement. As his reward, the officer received from the hands of Cleopatra a helmet and cuirass of gold: the favour was enhanced by the winning grace

of the donor, who having, by her smiles and her sweetness, ensnared the intoxicated youth, engaged him to favour her purpose of surrendering the city to Octavius.

Antony defied his rival to decide their cause by a single combat, but received from him an intimation, as in scorn, that if he was weary of life, there were other methods by which he might rid himself of the burthen. Cleopatra seized the moment of indignation which this sarcasm produced, to urge her lover to a last and desperate effort, for the failure of which she had taken care to provide. In compliance with her counsel, Antony prepared himself to make on the ensuing day a general attack both by sea and land. This intelligence was, by the young soldier whom the queen had seduced by her smiles, conveyed to Octavius; to which an assurance was added, that the fleet and army should be surrendered into his hands. The interval was not passed by Cleopatra without great inquietude; the flatteries and promises of Octavius having failed to allay a sentiment of distrust which still lurked at the bottom of her heart.

The morning at length arose, when Antony, marching out of the city, met the fate prepared for him. He had posted his infantry on a rising ground, whence he beheld his fleet moving towards the enemy: as he continued to gaze, in expectation of the conflict, how great was his consternation and surprise, in beholding the hostile vessels salute, mingle, and, with united force, proceed towards the city! Turning with horror from a sight thus unexpected, he perceived on the other side, his cavalry wheel off and join the enemy, while the infantry separated in disorder. Struck with the truth, which now darted through his mind, he drew back towards the city, exclaiming, that he had been betrayed by her in whose cause only he had contended. Cleopatra, informed of the event, fled to the monument, under pretence of terror at the Roman arms, but in reality to avoid the despair of the man whom she had betrayed and destroyed. Having taken measures for her personal safety, she ordered Antony to be informed, that, preferring to a shameful captivity an honourable death, she had perished by her own hand: by this means she hoped to elude the first bursts of his indignation, or to urge him, perhaps, on his fate.

She received at this period, an intimation from Cornelius Dolabella (a favourite of the conqueror), whom, by her allure-

ments, she had engaged to her interests, that the reserve of Octavius rendered it difficult to penetrate his purposes, but that she would do well to be guarded, and to distrust his proffers. Roused by this hint to a sense of her conduct, its probable consequences rushing on her mind, she determined, by a parade of sympathy for Antony, to avert impending shame: she judged aright, that to expire with him would be less humiliating than to swell the triumph of his adversary. Under this impression, she dispatched to Antony a messenger, who had orders to persuade him that, in despite of appearances, she yet lived only for him, and impatiently expected him at the monument, whither she had retired for safety.

This conciliating message arrived too late; Antony, on being informed of the death of his mistress, had in broken exclamations declared, that, having lost the only object for which he had cherished life, he had no more business in the world. Having thus said, he commanded Eros, a faithful servant, from whom he had extorted a vow to put an end to his existence whenever his misfortunes should become irremediable, now to fulfil his engagement. Eros, to evade his promise, chose rather to die in the presence of his beloved master, who, following the example given him by his servant, plunged his sword in his breast and sunk beside him. At this instant, the messenger from the queen of Egypt arrived: Antony raising himself, and reviving at the intelligence brought to him, eagerly desired to be taken to the monument. The entrance having been fastened to prevent surprise, he was drawn up through the window with cords, by the queen and two female attendants, the only persons whom she dared to trust. The spectators melted into tears, when they beheld the dying Antony, covered with blood, stretching out his hands to Cleopatra, and raising his body as if to aid her efforts: even the callous heart of the queen was at length touched for the fate of a hero, whose passion for her had proved his destruction: having placed him on a bed in the monument, she wept over him with unfeigned and impassioned sorrow, while her soul was rent by a too late remorse. Generous even in death, Antony seemed to have lost in his efforts to console her the sense of her guilt and of his own condition, while, without uttering either reproach or complaint, he exhorted her to use every means for

her security; and, among the friends of Octavius, to trust only Proculeius. Calling for wine, he implored his mistress rather to rejoice in the recollection of his past felicity, than to afflict herself with the present reverse of his fortunes. His speech failing him, he grasped the hand of Cleopatra in his, and, fixing his eyes tenderly on hers, while death seemed deprived by love of its pangs, he gently breathed his last.

It was at this instant that Proculeius, whom Octavius had deputed to confer with the queen of Egypt, arrived before the monument: at the sight of the sword yet reeking with the blood of Antony, and at the recital of what had past, he dissolved into tears. Octavius, desirous of seizing the person of Cleopatra to grace his triumph, and apprehensive of losing her immense treasures, had, by his agents, spared no insinuations that might tempt her ambition or flatter her pride. Cleopatra demanded that her kingdom might be secured to her children; in reply to which she was exhorted by Proculeius to confide wholly in his master. A second officer arrived charged with new proposals, and having contrived to fix the attention of the queen, who conversed with him through an aperture in the monument, Proculeius, in the mean time, by the aid of a scaling ladder, entered through the window by which Antony had been admitted. One of the attendants turning and perceiving him, exclaimed aloud, 'Wretched Cleopatra, thou art now indeed lost!' The queen attempted suddenly to plunge into her bosom a dagger which hung from her girdle, but Proculeius, seizing her hands, wrested from her the weapon, and shook her robe lest poison should be concealed in its folds. Epaphroditus was then commissioned by Octavius to take charge of the royal captive, whom he had orders strictly to guard from the means of self-destruction, and to treat with all possible gentleness and respect. The gates of Alexandria now opened to the conqueror, who entered the city, conversing familiarly with the philosopher Arieus, upon whose arm he leaned: he refused to suffer the prostration of the people, to whom he granted a pardon, first, as he declared, on the account of Alexander their founder; secondly, for the beauty of their city; and thirdly, for the sake of Arieus, to whom it had given birth.

The body of Antony was solicited by various kings and

sovereign princes, who desired to honour it with funeral rites; but, at the earnest request of Cleopatra, the privilege of interring it was granted to her, an office which she performed with imperial magnificence and expense. She received an intimation soon after the funeral, that Octavius designed her a visit: foreseeing in this interview the decision of her fate, she prepared for his reception with a beating heart. Having caused her apartment to be adorned with various pictures of Julius Cæsar, his predecessor, she attired herself in a thin, loose, mourning robe, disposed with studied, yet negligent grace, and, reclining on a couch in an attitude of pensive sadness, waited the coming of Octavius. Starting, on his entrance, from her position, with dishevelled hair and eyes swimming in tears, her air languishing, her voice faultering and tremulous, she sunk half fainting at his feet. Octavius, touched with compassion, raised and supported her to a seat; while, addressing him by the title of her lord and master, she implored his compassion in a speech prepared for the occasion, reminded him of his predecessor, to whom she owed her crown and dignity, lamented the loss of his protection, and flattered herself with seeing him restored in his adopted son and successor. Octavius listened with downcast eyes, while, essaying every art to move him, she affected to excuse her conduct towards Antony, on the plea of constraint and fear. Her justification being interrupted by her guest, whose patience began to be exhausted, she had recourse to submission, prayers, and tears, offering to put into his hands an inventory of her treasures, and to throw herself entirely on his mercy. One of her treasurers, present at the interview, accused her, with a view of making court to the victor, of having secreted many of her most valuable jewels. Thrown off her guard by a temerity to which she had been so little accustomed, she seized the treasurer, by the hair, and repeatedly struck him in the face. Octavius, smiling at her transport, endeavoured to pacify her; when, recollecting herself and apologising for her vehemence, she added meanness to duplicity, and protested that she had reserved only some female ornaments, as presents to his wife and his sister Octavia, through whose intercession she hoped to receive clemency. Persuaded from this circumstance that she had relinquished any design against her life, Octavius sought

to sooth and encourage her, by declaring, that whatever she had thought proper to reserve should be left to her discretion, and that she might assure herself of honourable treatment. He then departed, pleased with the interview, and persuaded that he had imposed on the discernment, and quieted the apprehensions, of his captive.

Cleopatra, feeling herself less satisfied, suspected the sincerity of her visitor: shortly after she received a new intimation from Dolabella, that his master, about to return into Syria, proposed to send her before him, accompanied by her children.

The dread of being led in triumph to Rome again seized her, and once more she determined to die. Having requested to be allowed to make a last oblation at the tomb of Antony, her demand was complied with, and she was conducted with her women to the place of his interment; where, having made a theatrical show of sorrow, and adorned the monument with garlands, she ordered a bath to be prepared and a splendid supper. After the entertainment, one of her domestics, disguised as a countryman, obtained leave of the guards to present to her a basket of figs, under the leaves of which an asp was concealed. Cleopatra received the fruit, rewarded the bearer, addressed a letter to Octavius containing an entreaty to be interred with Antony, and applied the asp to her veins.

Thus perished in the fortieth year, twenty-two years after her elevation to the throne, a woman who, perverting the bounties of nature, found in an inordinate selfishness the destruction she laboured to avert, and received, in the consequences of her duplicity and perfidy, the just recompense of her crimes. The statues of Antony were overthrown, but those of Cleopatra were suffered to remain; Archibius, who had been long in her service, having given to Octavius a thousand talents, on condition of their being spared. After her decease, Egypt was reduced to a province of the Roman empire, and governed by a præfect sent thither from Rome.

Rollin's Ancient History—Biographium Fœmineum—Lives of Cleopatra and Octavia, by the author of David Simple, &c.

ANN CLIFFORD,

COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE, DORSET, AND MONTGOMERY.

Ann, daughter and heir of George Clifford, third earl of Cumberland, was born January 30th, 1589, in Skipton-Castle, in Craven. Her father had, under the reign of Elizabeth, distinguished himself by his naval expeditions, on which he had expended a great part of his patrimony. In return for his services, he was appointed by the queen her champion in tilts and tournaments, where his dignity, skill, and address, equally excited admiration. Lady Ann Clifford was, on the death of her father, only ten years of age; but his loss was supplied to her by the care and attention of an excellent mother, a daughter of the earl of Bedford; who, aided by her aunt, the countess of Warwick, superintended her education. Mr. Samuel Daniel, a poet and an historian, was by these ladies appointed preceptor to their charge, who under his tuition made a considerable progress in literary attainments.

Lady Ann, in February, 1609, married lord Buckhurst, earl of Dorset, a gallant and accomplished nobleman, with whom she lived fifteen years. In March, 1624, she was, by the decease of her husband, left in a state of widowhood, with two daughters, Margaret and Isabel, who were afterwards espoused to the earls of Northampton and Thanet. Six years after this period, she gave her hand to Philip Herbert, earl of Pembroke and Montgomery. This nobleman, through the favour of James, who had succeeded to Elizabeth, possessed, as a reward for his skill in hawking and hunting, a large estate of eighteen thousand per annum, on which he lived in a style of magnificence. His stables are said to have vied with palaces, and his falconry, in which he chiefly prided himself, was furnished at an immense expense. In his private life he was characterised by gross ignorance and vice, while his public character is, by the noble historian of those unfortunate times, branded with ingratitude and tergiversation.

Of the inducements of lady Ann for forming a connexion with a man so worthless, there is no account: it is certain that, for nearly twenty years, her life was by his conduct considerably embittered; and that by his dissolute manners she

was at length compelled to separate herself from him; till, in January, 1649, death relieved her from fetters which had become nearly intolerable.

About this period she became possessed of an ample fortune. Her succession, on the decease of her father, to the Clifford estates, had been disputed by an uncle, who inherited the title: an award, to which she had never submitted, had, on this occasion, been given against her by James I. The fortunes, on the demise of her uncle and his son, reverted to her, increased by the large jointures which she had received from her marriages. Having sketched a plan for her future life, she determined to retire to the north, and expend her income on her own estates.

Five noble castles had in ancient times been possessed by the earls of Cumberland, in the three counties of Yorkshire, Westmoreland, and Cumberland; Skipton, Pendragon, Appleby, Brougham, and Brough: also a sixth fortified seat in which they sometimes resided. These castles, which during the civil war had greatly suffered, were falling to decay. The countess, on coming into the possession of her estates, resolved on repairing and furnishing the fortresses of her ancestors: this design was, during the years 1657 and 1658, completed; when over the gate of each castle was placed the following inscription: "This castle was repaired by the lady Ann Clifford, countess dowager of Pembroke, in the year ——, after the main part of it had lain ruinous ever since 1648, when it was demolished almost to the ground by the parliament then sitting at Westminster, because it had been a garrison in the civil wars. IS. LVIII. 12. LAVS DEO."

Oliver Cromwell was, about this period, at the head of the state: his usurpations and his hypocrisy had inspired the countess with an aversion to his character, which she took little pains to conceal. Her friends aware of the jealous temper of the protector, advised her to be less lavish in building, hinting, that there was cause to fear that her castles would be no sooner rebuilt, than orders would be sent to demolish them. 'Let him,' said she with spirit, 'destroy them if he will; he shall surely find, that as often as he destroys I will rebuild them, while he leaves me a shilling in my pocket.' On another

occasion, she likewise manifested her high spirit and contempt for Cromwell. In receiving her rights, she had, by the misconduct or negligence of her uncle, been involved in a tedious suit of law. Cromwell, informed of the affair by the opposite party, offered his mediation, which was by the countess haughtily rejected. 'What,' said she, 'does he suppose that I, who refused to submit to king James, will submit to him?' Whether from respect to her character, or from the influence of her numerous friends, it is certain the protector showed no resentment on these occasions: the castles and estates of the countess remained uninjured. Her aversion to Cromwell seems to have originated in principle rather than in party: being pressed by her friends, after the restoration, to appear at court, she testified an unqualified dislike to the spirit of the government of Charles; 'By no means,' replied she to their entreaties, 'unless I may be allowed to wear blinkers.'

Another instance of her independent spirit is worthy of being perpetuated. Sir Joseph Williamson, when secretary of state to Charles II. named to the countess in a letter, a candidate for the borough of Appleby. Disdaining to be dictated to on such an occasion, she returned him the following spirited and laconic reply: "I have been bullied by an usurper, I have been neglected by a court, but I will not be dictated to by a subject. Your man sha'n't stand. Ann Dorset, Pembroke, and Montgomery."

The churches belonging to the villages on her estates having been beaten down, or converted to other purposes, she repaired and rebuilt them. Her expenses in building were estimated at forty thousand pounds. She divided the year into periods, residing in turn at each of her castles, thus superintending the whole of her estates, and carrying blessings in her train. The patroness of the distressed, her ear and her heart were open to their complaints; her expanded mind and liberal fortune were in unison; none implored relief from her in vain. To occasional acts of beneficence she added permanent endowments, among which she founded two hospitals.

By the side of the road between Perinth and Appleby, appears an affecting monument of her filial gratitude. On this spot she had last parted with a beloved mother, a separation she was accustomed to recal to her mind with tender sorrow,

and in commemoration of which she erected a pillar, its base a stone table, known in the country by the name of *Countess Pillar*, on which were engraven her arms, a sun-dial, and the following inscription:

" This pillar was erected in the year 1656, by Ann, countess dowager of Pembroke, for a memorial of her last parting in this place with her good and pious mother, Margaret, countess dowager of Cumberland, on the second of April, 1616. In memory whereof she hath left an annuity of four pounds, to be distributed to the poor of the parish of Brougham, every second day of April for ever, upon the stone table placed hard by. LAVS DEO!"

The establishment of the countess's household accorded with her liberal mind; her servants were the children of her tenants, who, if they behaved well, were sure of a provision: to her women, when they married, she gave small portions. She was a lover of learning, and a patroness of learned men. In gratitude to her tutor, she erected a monument to his memory in the church at Beckington, near Philips-Norton, Somersetshire. She also raised a monument to the memory of Spenser. Her liberality was experienced by several of the ejected ministers, among whom may be mentioned King, afterwards bishop of Chichester; also Duppa and Morley, both afterwards bishops of Winchester, to each of whom she allowed four pounds per annum. During their distresses abroad, being informed that a sum of money would be more serviceable to them than the annuities, she remitted a thousand pounds to be divided among them.

At Bearmky she restored and repaired an alms-house, built and endowed by her mother. On the 23d of April, 1651, she laid the first stone of an hospital, founded at Appleby in Westmoreland, for a governess and twelve widows, which was finished in the three following years; and for the endowment of which she purchased the manor of Brougham, and the lands of St. Nicholas, near Appleby. This establishment being completed, the pensioners were placed by the countess in their several apartments, in which their benefactress frequently dined with them: she also entertained them once a month at her own table, and conversed with them with an engaging familiarity.

At Temple Soureby in Westmoreland, she purchased lands, value eight pounds per annum, for repairing the church, school-house, town-hall, and bridge at Appleby. At the rebuilding of the church at Appleby, she caused a vault to be made at the north-east corner of the chapel for her own sepulture, on which she expended seven hundred pounds, and over which was erected a monument of black and white marble. Having repaired a part of the steeple and church at Skipton in Craven, she raised there a superb monument to the memory of her father.

Her prudence in the management of her affairs was exemplary: bishop Rainbow, speaking on this subject, calls her "a perfect mistress of forecast and aftercast." Her economy and exactness in her accounts were the support of a generosity truly deserving of the name. In each of her castles was an office where her receipts and disbursements were entered with commercial punctuality. The account of her more private benefactions was kept by herself with so much precision, that, on a comparison with her public accounts, she had at once a complete view of the state of her affairs. To vain and frivolous gratifications she allowed nothing: the regular form in which the expenses of her family ran, under the article *necessaries*, made every year a check upon that which succeeded it. The spirit and firmness with which she defended her rights, doubtless preserved her, in those fluctuating and relaxed times, from many contentions. A lesser instance after those before mentioned, may serve still farther to illustrate this observation.

Among the tenants on her estate, it was an annual custom, after paying their rents, to present a *boon-hen*, generally considered as the steward's perquisite, and ever acknowledged as a just claim. A rich clothier from Halifax, whose name was Murgatroyd, having taken a tenement near Skipton, was called upon by the steward for his boon-hen. This he refused to pay; the countess therefore commenced a suit against him, which, the parties being alike inflexible, was carried into length. The countess established her claim at the expense of two hundred pounds, when, the affair being decided, she invited the defendant to dinner. The hen was served up as a first dish. 'Come sir,' said the countess, drawing it towards her, 'let us now be

friends; since you allow the hen to be dressed at my table, we will, if you please, divide it between us.'

The understanding of this lady had received considerable cultivation; of her it was said humourously by Dr. Donn, 'that she knew how to converse on all subjects, from predestination to sea-silk.' Her chief delight was in the study of history, by which she was led to examine that of her ancestors. There had been few scenes of public life, in which her progenitors, the Veteriponts and Cliffords, an active race of men, had not been engaged. The countess employed learned men, at a great expense, to make collections from the records in the Tower, the rolls, and other depositories of public papers, towards materials for a history of those two powerful northern families, which, being fairly transcribed, filled three large volumes. This work, containing a great variety of original characters engaged on important occasions, is still at Appleby castle, among the family records.

While thus intent on perpetuating the honour of her ancestors, she instituted a severe restraint on her own actions: an entrance of the transactions of every day was made under her inspection, in a large folio volume, kept by a confidential secretary; a work still extant, and in the hands of the earl of Thanet. A regular attention to the forms of religion occupied a great part of her time; she was particularly conversant with the scriptures, and exemplified in her conduct the benevolent morality of Jesus Christ. Brought up in the church of England, she rigidly adhered to its ceremonials, amidst menaces of sequestration from the ruling powers, whom on this, as on other occasions, her lofty spirit held at defiance.

Her manner of living was simple, and nearly parsimonious: abstemious in her diet, she was accustomed to boast that she had scarce ever tasted wine or physic; her active and temperate life preserving the vigour and soundness of her constitution. Her dress, in the later periods of her life, was a close habit of plain black serge. Her retinue, calculated for use rather than for parade, bespoke the same moderation. Two ladies, well educated, constantly resided with her, in whose conversation she relaxed from her graver pursuits. In her library, stored with the best writers, she gratified a liberal curiosity, and indulged her ardour for knowledge.

Her rational and exemplary life was extended to an advanced period; she survived her second husband twenty-six years, a blessing and an ornament to her country, and expired in her castle at Brogham, March 23d, 1675, after a few days' illness, in the eighty-sixth year of her age. She was interred April 14th, at Appleby, in Westmoreland, under the monument she had erected. Her funeral sermon was preached at Appleby, by Dr. Edward Rainbow, bishop of Carlisle, from a verse in the Proverbs of Solomon; "Every wise woman buildeth her house." In her ended the Clifford family, whose estates, by the marriage of her daughter Margaret to the earl of Thanet, reverted to the family of Tufton.

Lady Ann Clifford is described by Mr. Pennant* as the most eminent character of her times, for intellectual accomplishments, for spirit, magnificence, and benevolence. He also mentions two portraits of this lady, both full length, in a family picture in Skipton castle. In one she is drawn at thirteen years of age, in the other during middle life in her widowhood. In the first of these pictures is a representation of the books read by persons of rank and fashion at that period, among which are Eusebius, St. Augustine, sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia, Godfrey of Boulogne, the French Academy, Cambden, Ortelius, and Agrippa on the Vanity of Occult Sciences. Above are the heads of Mr. Samuel Daniel, her tutor, and Mrs. Ann Taylor, her governess. The books in the second picture consist of the Bible, Charron on Wisdom, and pious treatises: also a treatise on distillation and medicine. From this enumeration the studies of the countess in the different periods of her life may be inferred.

A narrative, or rather journal, of her own life was left by the countess, consisting principally of minute details of the petty occurrences of a retired life, the greater number of which are tedious, uniform, and but little interesting. In this manuscript she describes her own mental and personal endowments: "I was very happy," says she, "in my first constitution both of mind and body. I resembled equally both father and mother: the colour of my eyes was black, like my father's, the form and aspect of them quick and lively, like my mother's.

* In his Tour.

My hair brown and thick, and so long that it reached the calf of my legs, with a peak of hair on my forehead, and a dimple on my chin. Full cheeks, like my father, and a round face like my mother's. An exquisite shape of body resembling my father. But now time and age have ended all these beauties, to be compared to the grass of the field. I have passed the sixty-third year of my age. The perfections of my mind surpassed those of my body. I had a strong and copious memory, a sound judgment, a discerning spirit, and an imagination so strong that many times even my dreams and apprehensions beforehand proved to be true; so that old Mr. John Denham, a great astronomer, who lived in my father's house, would often say that I had much in me in nature to show, that the sweet influence of the Pleiades and the bands of Orion, mentioned in Job, were powerful both at my conception and nativity." She goes on to speak of "sucking from her dear mother the milk of goodness, which made her mind grow strong against the storms of fortune." She informs us that in her childhood, by means of her aunt Warwick, she was much beloved by queen Elizabeth.

Her escape from various perils, is thus recorded: "In my infancy and youth, and a great part of my life, I have escaped many dangers, both by fire and water, by passage in coaches and falls from horses, by burning fevers, and excessive extremity of bleeding, many times to the great hazard of my life. All which, and many wicked devices of my enemies, I have passed through miraculously, and much the better by the help of the prayers of my dear mother, who incessantly begged of God for my safety and preservation."

The following account of her marriage life may not be unacceptable to the reader: "I was born a happy creature in mind, body, and fortune, and those two lords, to whom I was afterwards by the Divine Providence married, were worthy noblemen as any then in this kingdom; yet it was my misfortune to have contradictions and crosses with both. With my first lord about the desire he had to make me sell my rights in the lands of my ancient inheritance, which I never would consent to, insomuch as this was the cause of long contention; as also for his profuseness in consuming his estate, and some other extravagances. With my second lord because my young-

est daughter, the lady Elizabeth Sackville, would not be brought to marry one of his youngest sons, and that I would not relinquish my interest in five thousand pounds (being part of her portion) out of my lands in Craven: nor did there want divers malicious ill-willers to blow and foment the coals of dissension between us: so as, in both their life-times, the marble pillars of Knowle in Kent, and Wilton in Wiltshire, were to me oftentimes but the gay arbor of anguish. A wise man, that knew the insides of my fortune, would often say, that I lived in both these my lords' great families as the river Rosn runs through the lake of Geneva, without mingling its streams with the lake; for I gave myself up to retiredness as much as I could, and made good books and virtuous thoughts my companions, which can never discern affliction, nor be daunted when it unjustly happens. And by a happy genius I overcame all these troubles, the prayers of my blessed mother helping me therein."

On the 18th and 20th of January, 1616-17, the countess was brought before king James, in Whitehall, to give her consent to the award which James intended to make (and afterwards executed) of the lands of her inheritance. This having refused to do, she was involved by her opposition in many difficulties and vexations.

Soon after the decease of her first husband, she had the small-pox, from which, after the most imminent danger, she escaped with life, but with the destruction of her beauty.

In speaking of the characters of her two husbands, "The first," says she, "was in his nature of a just mind, of a sweet disposition, and very valiant in his own person. He had great advantages in breeding, by the wisdom of his grandfather, Thomas Sackville, earl of Dorset, and lord-high-treasurer of England, who was held one of the wisest men of his time, by which means he (i. e. her husband) was so good a scholar, in all manner of learning, that in his youth, when in the university of Oxford, of which his grandfather was the chancellor, there was none of the young nobility or students that excelled him. He was a good patriot to his country, and well beloved in it; much esteemed by the parliaments that sat in his time; and so great a lover of scholars and soldiers, that, with excessive bounty towards them, or any of worth who were in distress, he

did much diminish his estate, also with prodigality in housekeeping, and other noble ways at court, as tilting, masquing, and the like. By prince Henry, then alive, and much addicted to these noble exercises, he was well beloved."

Her second husband, who died in 1650, is thus described by her: "He was no scholar, having passed but three or four months at Oxford, when he was taken thence, after his father's death, in the latter end of the reign of Elizabeth, to follow the court, judging himself fit for that kind of life when not passing sixteen years old. Yet he was of quick apprehension, sharp understanding, very crafty withal, of a discerning spirit, but a choleric nature, increased by the office he held of chamberlain to the king. He was never out of England but two months, when he went into France with other lords, in 1625, to attend queen Mary, when coming over to marry king Charles. He was one of the greatest noblemen of his time in England, and well beloved throughout the realm."

Ballard's British Ladies—Gilpin's Account of a manuscript life of Mr. Sedgwick (written by himself), secretary to the countess of Pembroke.

CATHERINE CLIVE.

Mr. William Rafton, the father of Catherine, a native of Kilkenny in Ireland, was educated for the law; but, having attached himself to the fortunes of James II. and entered into his service when James was in Ireland, he forfeited to the crown a considerable paternal estate. After the battle of the Boyne, he still adhered to his master, through whose recommendation, and his own merit, he obtained a captain's commission in the service of Lewis XIV. Having afterwards procured a pardon from the English court, he came to London, where he married the daughter of a respectable citizen. Several children were the fruit of this union.

Catherine, who was born in 1711, gave early promise of talents for the stage. Her humour, and agreeable manner of singing lively, spirited, songs, recommended her to the notice of Colley Cibber, then manager of Drury-lane, to whom she had been introduced by some friends. She was immediately

engaged by Cibber, on a small salary. She first appeared in boy's clothes, in the character of a page, in the tragedy of Mithridates, king of Pontus, when she merely sung a song, which met with applause. She was at this time (1728) seventeen years of age. During the same season, she attracted particular attention from the audience, in the part of Phillida, in Cibber's "Love in a Riddle." A popular prejudice against the author had predetermined the fate of this play; on which occasion a compliment was paid to the rising merit of Catherine, which, on the ensuing night, the presence of the royal family could not command: whenever she appeared on the stage, the clamours against the author were suspended.

In 1731 she burst upon the public in the full lustre of comic excellence, in the part of Nell, in "The Devil to pay, or the Wives metamorphosed," a farce, by Colley Cibber. Her success in this character procured her salary to be doubled, established her reputation with the town, and placed the piece in the constant list of acting farces.

In 1732 she married G. Clive, esq. brother to Mr. Baron Clive. These nuptials appear not to have proved fortunate: a separation soon took place: yet, in a situation thus delicate and exposed, Mrs. Clive preserved an unblemished character.

After continuing on the stage, the ornament of her profession, and the delight of the public, more than forty years, she retired with dignity, her powers unimpaired, in 1769. On taking leave of the audience, she spoke an epilogue, written by Horace Walpole, near whom she fixed her residence, at Strawberry-hill, Twickenham. In this situation, she continued to enjoy health, ease, good-humour, and independence.

She introduced upon the stage, at different benefits of her own, several little pieces, not devoid of merit: "Bayes in Petticoats," 8vo, 1753. "Every Woman in her Humour," 1760, not printed. "The Faithful Irish Woman," 1765, not printed. "Island of Slaves," 1761, not printed. The latter is nearly a literal translation of Marivaux's "*Isle des Esclaves*," executed, as confessed by herself, by a gentleman, at her request. She died December 6th, 1785.

Biographia Dramatica.

CATHERINE COCKBURN.

CATHERINE, daughter of captain David Trotter, a native of Scotland, and a naval officer in the reign of Charles II. was born in London, August 16th, 1679. Captain Trotter, distinguished for his probity and integrity by the epithet of *honest David*, was highly favoured by the king and his brother the duke of York. He had served the royal cause both by sea and land, with courage and gallantry, and was styled by James, earl of Perth, lord high chancellor of Scotland, "an ornament to his country." Having been sent to convoy the fleet of the Turkish company, an expedition that it was expected would prove highly advantageous to his fortunes, he was seized at Scandaroon with the plague which raged there, and of which he expired.

His death was an irreparable loss to his family, whom the cupidity of the ship's officers defrauded of his effects, to a considerable amount: a goldsmith, in whose hands the greater part of his remaining property was lodged, becoming a bankrupt, completed their distress. The admiralty, in consideration of the merit of captain Trotter, and the misfortunes of his family, settled on them a pension, by the order of the king, which continued during his life. On his decease, the pension ceased, for which deprivation the family received no compensation till the reign of queen Anne, who granted to the widow the annual sum of twenty pounds, which was paid by the dutchess of Marlborough into the hands of Dr. Burnet, bishop of Salisbury, till the removal of the dutchess from court, and afterwards through other channels.

Captain Trotter left two daughters, the elder of whom afterwards married Dr. Inglis, physician-general to the army. Mrs. Trotter, whose maiden name was Ballenden, was nearly related to the nobleman of that name, and to the families of Maitland duke of Lauderdale, and Drummond earl of Perth. Catherine, the younger daughter, was, on the death of her father, by which the circumstances of her family were greatly reduced, still a child. She had given an early indication of genius by some extemporary verses on an incident, which, passing in the street, excited her attention. Several of her rela-

tions and friends happened to be present on this occasion, among whom was her uncle, a naval commander. This gentleman, greatly struck by such a proof of observation, facility, and talent, in a child, observed, with what pleasure would the father of Catherine (who himself possessed a peculiar taste and passion for poetry) have witnessed, had he been living, this unpremeditated effusion.

Catherine, by application and industry, made herself mistress of the French language without any instructor; she also taught herself to write. In the study of the Latin grammar and logic, she had some assistance; of the latter she drew up an abstract for her own use. Though educated in the principles of the reformation, she imbibed, from an early intercourse with some catholic families of distinction, a prejudice in favour of their faith; and, after conferring on the doctrines in dispute with several eminent and learned ministers of the church of England, who failed to convince her, she entered into the Romish communion, in which she remained for some years.

In 1693, being then only fourteen years of age, she addressed some lines to Mr. Bevil Higgons, on his sickness and recovery from the small-pox. She produced also a tragedy, in her seventeenth year, entitled, "Agnes de Castro," which was acted with applause at the Theatre-royal, in 1696, and published, but without her name, the following year, with a dedication to the earl of Dorset and Middlesex, in which the author declares, that this offspring of her early muse owed its publication to his lordship's judgment, to which it had been submitted. Agnes de Castro is founded on a French novel printed in Paris, 1688, and translated into English by Mrs. Behn.

In 1697 our youthful dramatist complimented Mr. Congreve, on his "Mourning Bride," in an elegant copy of verses, in return for which she received a very flattering epistle, wherein Mr. Congreve expresses his mortification and regret, that the poem arrived too late to be prefixed to the publication of his tragedy. "All the satisfaction that I can take," adds he, "and all the sacrifice that I make to you, is only to stifle some verses on the same subject, which were printed with it, and which now, I assure you, shall never appear. Since I am de-

prived of the recommendation you designed me, I will be obliged to no other, till I have some future opportunity of preferring yours." These reciprocal civilities gave rise to an acquaintance between the parties.

In 1698 "The Fatal Friendship, a tragedy, composed by Catherine Trotter," was performed at the New Theatre, Lincoln's-inn-fields, and printed, the same year, in quarto, with a dedication to the princess Anne of Denmark. This play, which is said to possess considerable merit, was received with great approbation. Various complimentary poems were addressed to the writer on the occasion, and prefixed to its publication. Among them was one sent anonymously by Mr. John Hughes, author of "The Siege of Damascus." Mr. George Farquhar likewise expressed his satisfaction with this piece, and soon after complimented the author with a copy of his first comedy, accompanied by a letter written in a high strain of gallantry and panegyric.

On the death of Mr. Dryden, in 1701, Mrs. Trotter united with several other ladies in paying to his memory a poetical tribute, in a joint production, entitled, "The Nine Muses; or Poems written by so many Ladies on the Death of the late famous John Dryden, Esq." In the same year she also produced a comedy, "Love at a Loss, or most votes carry it;" acted at the Theatre-royal, published in 4to, and dedicated to lady Piers, wife to sir George Piers, an officer of high rank under the duke of Marlborough. This lady, with whom Mrs. Trotter lived in habits of friendship, possessed a taste for literature and the fine arts.

The author being absent from London, her comedy was so incorrectly printed, that, had it been practicable, she would gladly have suppressed the edition. It was many years afterwards revised by Mrs. Trotter, and considerably altered, with a view of bringing it again upon the stage, under the title of "The Honourable Deceivers, or all right at last." This purpose was never effected. Towards the latter end of 1701, Mrs. Trotter brought upon the stage, at Drury-lane, "The Unhappy Penitent," a tragedy, which was printed in 4to, with a dedication to Charles lord Halifax. The author, in her dedication, expresses a doubt whether love is a passion sufficiently sublime to form a proper subject for the tragic muse. It may

be observed, in reply to this scruple, that love, on such occasions, is never pourtrayed unmixed with the severer passions; nor can it be denied that love, in chaste and elevated minds, is an heroic sentiment. Some complimentary lines were prefixed to this performance, by lady Piers.

Mrs. Trotter's attention to the drama did not prevent her from cultivating graver studies. She took a peculiar pleasure and interest in metaphysical inquiries, so captivating to an acute and inquisitive mind; and, enlisting under the banner of Mr. Locke, composed a defence of his Essay on the Human Uunderstanding, in reply to some anonymous* strictures to which it had given rise. Mrs. Trotter was at this period only two-and-twenty years of age. Her defence was written in December, 1701, and published anonymously in the following May. The writer concealed her name, lest the knowledge of her sex and youth should produce a prejudice against her performance. She seems also to have felt an apprehension of being known to Mr. Locke, under the presumptuous title of his defender: in a preliminary address to him, she calls her performance "a bold unlicensed undertaking," and declares she had not ventured its publication "without much apprehension and awe of his displeasure." In a letter to George Burnet, esq. of Kemnay, a gentleman with whom she frequently corresponded, she writes: "I am more afraid of appearing before him I defend, than of the public censure; and, chiefly for the honour I bear to him, resolve to conceal myself."

Her precautions, as is usual in these cases, proved ineffectual: her name was discovered, when she received from Mr. Locke, through the hands of his cousin, Mr. King, afterwards lord chancellor, a present of books, and a letter of praise and acknowledgment. "Give me leave to assure you," says Mr. Locke, "that as the rest of the world take notice of the strength and clearness of your reasoning, so I cannot but be extremely sensible that it was employed in my defence. You have herein not only vanquished my adversary, but reduced me also absolutely under your power, and left no desire more strong in me, than that of meeting with some opportunity to assure you with what respect and submission I am, &c." Mrs.

* By Dr. Thomas Burnet, master of the Charter-house.

Trotter, in her "Defence of the Essay on the Understanding," endeavours to prove that the doctrine of materialism was not inconsistent with that of revelation, nor with the hope of a future existence, which rested not on the notion of an immaterial soul.

Mrs. Burnet, wife to the celebrated prelate of that name, addressed Mrs. Trotter on her *Defence*, and assured her of the approbation which her performance had received from the bishop, Mr. Norris, and other excellent judges. "It is not," she adds, "without difficulty some can believe, that any one not bred to science, and logic in particular, could be capable of such clear and close reasoning."

Mrs. Trotter, while on a visit at Salisbury, at the latter end of the year 1701, thus writes to Mr. George Burnet, in a letter dated December 9th: "The bishop goes next week, whom I saw last night, being at his palace to wait on his lady. I am much obliged to them both, and have not a little reason to be vain upon the advantageous things they have said of my last plays, especially the comedy. At least I may prefer the judgment of two such persons, to the rash censures of a giddy multitude. My lord's character is universally known; but give me leave to tell you, upon my particular observation of his lady, what every body that knows her does allow, that she has an extraordinary clear and solid judgment, the truest goodness and prudence, and the most charming affability in her behaviour; in short, I have met with no such perfection in any of my sex....You desired news from me, but this place affords none; and I keep no correspondence with intelligencers. I can only tell you of an unexpected pleasure I had here. Abel came this way to the bath, and complimented the bishop with a concert, where I was charmed with him enough to ride six miles after him to lord Arundel's, for the same pleasure, which has only increased my desire of hearing him."

Mrs. Trotter, still continuing her attachment to the Romish church, injured her health by a too strict conformity to the severities which it enjoins. Her physician, Dr. Denton Nicholas, a learned and ingenious man, advised her, in a letter dated October 19th, 1703, to dispense with the rigorous fasts which she had imposed upon herself, and which were destructive to a constitution originally weak. He desires her to

communicate his letter, for their satisfaction, to her friends and confessor.

In the beginning of the year 1704, Mrs. Trotter addressed a letter to her friendly physician, upon the truth of the christian religion, in reply to which he observes; "That she had proved unanswerably what she had undertaken, and had done it more clearly and effectually in half a sheet, than Grotius in a whole volume: though he differed from her in one point, where, from her prejudices in favour of popery, she lessened the authority of the scriptures, making way for the traditions of the church, &c." This gentleman is presumed to be the physician of whom she speaks in a letter to Mr. Burnet, as having been her instructor in geography; and by whom she had been kindly furnished with maps, books, and globes.

Notwithstanding her predilection for the catholic church, she treated those who differed from her in opinion with great candour and moderation. "I am sorry, sir," says she, in a letter to Mr. Burnet, "the difference there is between us in the controverted points of religion, should abate any thing of the little happiness you could find in my company. For my part, I consider nothing in the opinion of my friends, but what is likely to influence their morals; and provided they worship the true God, and acknowledge the doctrines and authority of Jesus Christ, I think we are sufficiently united in religious sentiment for all the purposes of friendship. To say truth, I have of late almost forgotten all distinction of churches: for having had some occasion of observing more than before the great growth of infidelity; that there are many who disbelieve, and more who doubt that there ever was any divine revelation; I have employed myself much in considering the proofs, and defending the truth of the christian religion, which has so entirely engaged my concern, that when I am with those who sincerely submit to the authority of Christ, what sense soever they understand him in, I am satisfied, and really think myself with one of my own communion." These sentiments, it must be allowed, are liberal for a member of an infallible church.

Mr. Burnet continued to correspond with Mrs. Trotter during his travels. He was received at Berlin by Sophia Charlotte, queen of Prussia, daughter to the princess Sophia, with respect and distinction. To the latter princess he wroto in

terms so advantageous of Mrs. Trotter, that in a reply to him from Hanover (dated July 29th, 1704), she expressed herself "charmed with the agreeable picture which he had drawn of the new Scotch Sappho, who seemed to merit the praises he had bestowed on her."

Mrs. Trotter addressed some lines to the duke of Marlborough, in 1704, upon his return from Germany, after the battle of Blenheim. This poem was honoured with the approbation of the duke and dutchess, and of the lord treasurer Godolphin. In 1706, after the battle of the Ramillies, she addressed to the duke a second congratulatory poem. In the same year was acted, at the theatre in the Haymarket, "The Revolution of Sweden," a tragedy, printed in 4to, with a dedication to lady Harriet Godolphin, eldest daughter of the duke of Marlborough. In this dedication the writer observes, that poetry, as an instrument of virtue, may be called *a divine art*, that it has been cherished by the best governed commonwealths, and is worthy of the protection of the wise and good. That the particular tendency of the present piece was "to incite a disinterested and resolute care of the public good." Three years before the representation of this tragedy, the first sketch had been communicated by the author to Mr. Congreve, who returned it with some remarks upon the conduct of the drama, which were published by Dr. Birch. The plot turned upon the Revolution in Sweden, under Gustavus Erickson.

Doubts had, previous to this period, suggested themselves to the mind of Mrs. Trotter, respecting the Romish religion; these doubts led her to investigate the principles of her belief, to consult the writers on either side, and to confer with freedom on the subject. The result of this examination was a conviction of the absurd pretences of one church, and a return into the bosom of the other. This change took place in the beginning of the year 1707. During the remainder of her life she continued to adhere to the doctrines of the Reformation. In the course of her inquiries, she discussed, in two letters, the question respecting "a guide in controversies." This discussion was published under the title of "A Discourse concerning a Guide in Controversies, in two Letters, written to one of the Church of Rome by a Person lately converted from that Com-

munion." A preface was prefixed to this performance by bishop Burnet, who commends the judgment and perspicuity of the writer, with the strength and clearness of her reasoning. A second edition of the letters was printed at Edinburgh, 1728, in 8vo.

Part of the summer of 1707 was passed by Mrs. Trotter at Oakham-mills near Ripley, where she frequently met with a Mr. Fenn, a respectable young clergyman, on a visit to his friends in the neighbourhood; who, becoming enamoured of her fine qualities, offered to her his hand and heart. She was induced to decline this proposal, from a prior attachment to Mr. Cockburn, with whom she had been for some time in the habits of friendship and correspondence.

In the beginning of 1708 she gave her hand to Mr. Cockburn. The graces of her person, her talents, and amiable manners, had, previous to her marriage, procured her several opportunities of an advantageous establishment; but, superior to mercenary motives, and, from the purity of her mind and habits, disgusted with the profligacy of the age, she determined to be guided in her choice by those principles of reason and virtue which she conceived afforded the best foundation for domestic happiness. "As piety and virtue," says Dr. Birch, "were the ground of their mutual affection, so their chief view in their union was the improvement of themselves in the principles of all religious and moral excellence."

Mr. Cockburn was the son of Dr. Cockburn, a learned and an eminent clergyman of Scotland, attached to the court of St. Germain; an attachment which he at length relinquished from his adherence to the protestant religion. He was some time after minister of the episcopal church at Amsterdam, whence he was collated to the rectory of Norshaw in Middlesex, by Dr. Robinson, bishop of London, at the recommendation of queen Anne, by whom he had been intended for one of the bishops of the plantations in America. Mr. Cockburn, his son, a man of extensive learning, published in the Weekly Miscellany a defence of prime ministers, in the character and under the name of Joseph. He was also the author of a treatise on the Mosaic deluge, published after his decease. A short time before his marriage, he had taken orders in the church; he received soon after the donative of Nayland, in Suffolk, whither he immedi-

ately repaired, leaving Mrs. Cockburn for some time in London. In a letter to Mr. Burnet (dated London, September 18th, 1708) she mentions her husband's journey to Nayland in the preceding June. "Our affairs," adds she, "have not yet suffered me to go to him, so that we have been separated near three months, excepting one week, that he was so kind as to come and stay with me, when I was ill. I am now pretty well recovered, and am hastening to him as fast as I can; but I have a great deal of trouble, and some business yet to bustle through, before I can compass it. We have a house in the country to furnish, for which I must purchase most things here; a new work to me, and a very expensive one. However I hope to be at Nayland in less than a fortnight."

They continued at Nayland but a short time, Mr. Cockburn removing thence to London, to be curate of St. Dunstan's church, Fleet-street; where he remained till the accession of George I., when, doubtful respecting the propriety of taking the oath of abjuration (though he hesitated not to pray for the king and family by name), he was compelled to quit his curacy. He suffered, for the ten or twelve following years, great embarrassments in supporting his family. During this period, he instructed in the Latin language the youth of an academy in Chancery-lane. In 1726, from consulting his father, and the lord-chancellor King, respecting the meaning and intention of the oath, and from reading some papers on the subject, which had fallen into his hands, his scruples were vanquished, and his mind reconciled to the conformity required of him.

In the ensuing year he received an invitation to be minister of the episcopal congregation at Aberdeen in Scotland, which he qualified himself to accept; and, on the day of the accession of George II. preached a sermon to his people on the duty and benefit of praying for the government. This sermon, when printed, gave rise to some animadversions, to which Mr. Cockburn published a reply, with some papers relative to the oath of abjuration. Some time after this circumstance, he was presented by the lord-chancellor King with the living of Long-Horseley, near Morpeth, in Northumberland: by this presentation he was the better enabled to support and educate his family, on which account he was permitted to con-

tinue at Aberdeen, till the improper conduct and negligence of the curates whom he had employed at Long-Horseley, obliged Dr. Chandler, bishop of Durham, to call him to a residence on his living. By the necessity of quitting Aberdeen his income was greatly narrowed.

Mrs. Cockburn had, since her marriage, in attention to the more interesting pursuits and occupations of a wife and mother, relinquished her literary pursuits: straitened circumstances, added to the cares of an increasing family, left her but little leisure for study. In a letter to her niece, dated October 6th, 1732, she writes, "Sundays being privileged from the needle, I have found time of late to read three short pamphlets, in answer to "Christianity as old as the Creation," by Dr. Burnet; which, they say, are the best that have been written on a subject that has for some time employed all pens and heads." In another letter, in the year 1740, she speaks of finding more time for reading and writing during the long winter's evenings, than in the summer months, since she could not work by candle-light. "In the summer," says she "I am so much employed with my needle, that I read little and write less." In a letter, intended to be sent to Mr. Pope, she writes, "You had but just began to dawn upon the world, when I retired from it. Being married in 1708, I bade adieu to the muses, and so wholly gave myself up to the cares of a family, and the education of my children, that I scarcely knew whether there were such things as books, plays, or poems, stirring in Great Britain. However, after some years, your 'Essay on Criticism,' and 'Rape of the Lock,' broke in upon me. I rejoiced that so bright a genius was rising on our isle; but thought no more about you, till my young family was grown up to have less need of my assistance; and beginning to have some taste for polite literature, my inclination revived with my leisure to inquire after what had been most celebrated in that kind. I then read your Homer, &c."

In 1726, eighteen years after her marriage, she published "A letter to Dr. Holdsworth," in vindication of Mr. Locke, whose material system exposed him to the imputation of infidelity. Mrs. Cockburn, in her letter, endeavours to prove that the system of Mr. Locke was not inconsistent with a belief in final retribution, a future state of existence, and the resurrec-

tion of the body. Whether of the same body, she contends, is a question of curiosity, independent of faith in a resurrection, or the credibility of the christian religion. This pamphlet was written in consequence of a sermon preached by Dr. Holdsworth, a fellow of St. John's college, Oxford, before the university, from John v. 28 and 29, concerning the resurrection of the body. The sermon was afterwards printed; in the titlepage of which the author professes to examine and reply to "the cavils, false reasonings, and false interpretations of Scripture, of Mr. Locke and others, against the resurrection of the same body." Mrs. Cockburn remonstrates with Dr. Holdsworth respecting the uncandid manner in which he treats his opponents, and hints, that it is scarcely prudent in the friends of Christianity to be so earnest in convicting Mr. Locke of infidelity. The zealous divine, in despite of a caution so sagacious and sensible, persisted in his attack with equal pertinacity and vehemence. Mrs. Cockburn again replied, in "A Vindication of Mr. Locke's Christian Principles, from the injurious Imputations of Dr. Holdsworth." This pamphlet is said to possess considerable acuteness and merit; but the author finding some difficulties with the booksellers, and being unwilling to publish on her own risk, threw the manuscript aside. It was afterwards printed by Dr. Birch in the edition of her works.

Mrs. Cockburn, in 1732, composed a poem "Occasioned by the Busts set up in the Queen's Hermitage." After some lines containing a panegyric on the taste and liberality of the queen, the poet intimates a wish that her majesty would extend her patronage to her own sex; of whose literary disadvantages she thus speaks:

> "Learning denied us, we at random tread
> Unbeaten paths, that late to knowledge lead:
> By secret steps break through th' obstructed way,
> Nor dare acquirements gain'd by stealth display.
> If some advent'rous genius should arise,
> Who on exalted themes her talents tries,
> She fears to give the work, tho' prais'd, a name,
> And flies not more from infamy than fame.
> Would royal Caroline our wrongs redress....
> * * * * *
> If not the work, give the attempt applause;
> And patronise in her the sex's cause."

In this poem, written by Mrs. Cockburn during her residence in Aberdeen, she speaks with regret of her exile from England.

> "But I, alas! in northern climes grown old,
> No more my native country shall behold."

The poem was to have been presented to the queen, with the author's Defence of Mr. Locke; but the dutchess of Hamilton, who had undertaken the presentation, being prevented by illness, and the lord chancellor King having declined the office, it is believed that the verses were never seen by her majesty. They were printed in the Gentleman's Magazine, May, 1737, but with some alterations; of which the writer complained as injudicious and disadvantageous.

Two years afterwards Mrs. Cockburn produced "Remarks upon some Writers in the Controversy concerning the Foundation of Moral Duty and Moral Obligation: particularly the Translation of Archbishop King's Origin of Moral Evil, and the Author of the Divine Legation of Moses: to which are prefixed some cursory Thoughts on the controversy concerning Necessary Existence, the Reality and Infinity of Space, the Extension and Place of Spirits; and on Dr. Watts's Notion of Substance." These Remarks, to which her name was not prefixed, were inscribed, with the utmost deference, to Alexander Pope, by an admirer of his moral character." The writer professed great reverence for Mr. Pope, and a desire of being introduced to him. With this view, she addressed to him a letter,* which she was withheld by diffidence from sending. In her remarks, she contends with Dr. Samuel Clarke for eternal and immutable relations, essential differences, and fitnesses of things. She treats with great respect the writers whom she opposes. This work remained in manuscript till August, 1743, when it appeared in "The History of the Works of the Learned."

In the same year Mrs. Cockburn lost a daughter, of whom she thus speaks in a letter to a friend: "The loss of my poor child who was so useful to me, and had been almost all her life with me, was indeed a severe affliction. She was a long time every moment in my thoughts. Whatever I turned my

* Afterwards published by Dr. Birch.

mind to she mingled with it: all that I found in books was some way or other applied to her; and still there is not a day but she is frequently the subject of my reflections; nor do I endeavour to divert them from her, but make the best use I can of them. I sometimes imagine that I have now a nearer interest in another state than I had, please myself with the hope of joining her spirit there, and finding her rejoicing in her early escape from the evils of this world. Sometimes I consider how graciously Providence often makes our disappointments and crosses in one kind turn to our advantage in another. My Kitty's return to me is an instance of this: had she continued with her brother, how desolate should I have been, when deprived of the only child that was left to me. Sharing each other's grief is a relief and comfort. Besides she is of the greatest use to me; so that I have reason to be thankful both for her, and the blessing I have in the goodness of my son, though at this distance from me. I hope God will please to preserve them." Mr. Cockburn, junior, was at this time in Germany, in some office connected with the army: he was afterwards clerk of the cheque at Chatham.

An essay appearing, "On the Nature and Obligations of Virtue," by Dr. Rutherforth, Mrs. Cockburn, notwithstanding the disadvantage of an asthmatic disorder, from which she had suffered some years, and which left her but few intervals of ease, determined on writing a reply. This she executed with spirit and ability. The manuscript was sent to Mr. Warburton, afterwards bishop of Gloucester, who took upon himself the care of its publication, and added to it a preface. On this occasion Mrs. C. thus writes to her neice: "I have had a letter from Mr. Warburton, with an encomium on my performance far beyond my expectation, as he says the manuscript was beyond his, when he heard it was written by a lady. He styles it 'the strongest and clearest piece of metaphysics that ever was written'."

About this period, 1754, Mrs. Cockburn, in a letter dated November 20th, thus expresses herself: "I have very little prospect of tolerable health for any continuance. My cough returned the beginning of September, and held me for two months. It is now succeeded by such a difficulty of breathing, that I do not know which is most grievous; but between them

I am reduced to great weakness." August, 1748, she again writes, "There are about nine months in the year when I am unable to write, even to my nearest friends, or on the most important business; much less can I apply myself to abstruse speculations." In a letter to a clergyman (dated March, 1748) who differed from herself in sentiment, and who was prejudiced against the opinions of Dr. Clarke, she writes, "Whenever your affairs will allow you to favour me with a personal conference, I shall esteem it a great obligation, as the advantage must be wholly on my side; for you will be much disappointed if you expect to encounter an able disputant. My companionable capacity, if I may so speak, has entirely left me; readiness of thought and expression, so necessary to conversation, are no more; but I can still hear with attention, and consider with impartiality; nor am I yet too old to learn."

Remarks upon the Principles and Reasonings of Dr. Rutherforth's Essay on the Nature and Obligations of Virtue, in Vindication of the contrary Principles and Reasonings enforced in the Writings of the late Dr. Samuel Clarke," were published in 1747. The opinion of Dr. Rutherforth, which Mrs. Cockburn laboured to confute, appears to have been analogous to that of modern philosophical writers, by which virtue is defined to be *utility;* or actions considered relatively as they affect the community. Man's individual happiness, say they, being the ultimate end which nature and reason prompt him to pursue, the general approbation given to virtue must therefore arise out of the general interest, and not from an intuitive or moral sense. To these arguments Mrs. Cockburn opposed the eternal fitness of things, or essential differences in qualities independent of their consequences. In Mr. Warburton's preface to this work, he declares, though he differs somewhat in opinion from the author, "that it contains all the clearness of expression, the strength of reason, the precision of logic, and attachment to truth, which render books of this nature really useful to the common cause of virtue and religion." The acuteness, strength, and vivacity, displayed by Mrs. Cockburn on a subject so abstruse, excited the curiosity of the public, whose admiration received increase from a discovery of the sex and age of the writer, then in her sixty-eighth year.

The reputation which she had acquired by her productions led her friends to propose that they should be collected and published by subscription. Mrs. Cockburn, encouraged by the approbation of several persons of distinguished literary taste, was induced to acquiesce in this plan, which she lived not to execute. The task of editor was, after her decease, undertaken by Dr. Birch.

January 4, 1748-9, when in the seventy-first year of her age, Mrs. Cockburn lost her husband, nor did she long survive a shock so severe. May 11, 1749, after a long and painful illness, sustained with patience and fortitude, she expired, and was interred near her husband and youngest daughter, at Long Horseley. On their tomb is the following short inscription: "Let their works praise them in the gates." Prov. xxxi. 31. She retained her intellects unimpaired till within a few days of her death.

She had been not less distinguished in her youth for her beauty and accomplishments than for her talents and genius. Her stature was small, her complexion delicate, and her eyes sparkling and full of animation. Her piety was rational and sincere, her conduct in every relation exemplary, her temper was liberal and benevolent, her conversation pleasing, instructive, modest, and unaffected. She met with universal respect and praise, even from the great, to many of whom she was known; but who, satisfying themselves with barren admiration, made no efforts to relieve her, by a liberal patronage, from narrow circumstances, with which she struggled through life, and which left her little leisure for literary avocations. The disadvantages of her situation, in which she was able to procure but few books, and to which she submitted without repining, rendered her acquirements and efforts more laudable and praiseworthy. Twenty years she devoted to the occupations of her family; yet, after so long an interval, she resumed, amidst increasing infirmities and broken health, her literary pursuits, and applied her powers to the investigation of subjects the most profound and abstracted. In one instance only she appears to have suffered from obloquy. Having withdrawn herself from a slight acquaintance with Mrs. Manley, the author of the celebrated Atalantis, whose writings and conduct were

equally licentious, Mrs. Manley revenged herself by calumniating the virtues she had neglected to imitate. Convinced at length of the injustice and atrocity of her behaviour, she promised to make to Mrs. Cockburn a personal apology: this humiliation the lady however found means to evade.

In 1751 the works of Mrs. Cockburn were published by Dr. Birch, in two volumes octavo. Of her dramatic performances, "The Fatal Friendship" alone was included in this collection. Two volumes only having been subscribed for by her friends, it was not possible to comprehend in that compass all her productions: to her prose writings it was therefore thought proper to give the preference. In this collection is a letter of advice to her son; also letters between Dr. Sharp, archdeacon of Northumberland and prebendary of Durham, and Mrs. Cockburn, concerning the foundation of moral virtue; likewise letters between Mrs. Cockburn and several of her friends; with short essays in prose; poems, songs, &c. The collection is entitled, "The Works of Mrs. Catherine Cockburn, theological, moral, dramatic, and poetical."

Biographia Brittannica.—Biographium Fœmineum.—The Female Worthies.

VICTOIRE COLONNE,

MARQUISE DE PESCAIRE.

Victoire Colonne, passionately devoted to letters, having, while young, lost a husband, distinguished for his valour and martial exploits, devoted the remainder of her life to melancholy and study; and celebrated, in the most tender poetry, the hero whom she had loved.

ANNA COMNENA.

Anna, daughter of the Greek emperor Alexius Comnenus, flourished about the year 1118. She renounced in her youth, the amusements and occupations of her sex, to deliver up herself to a passion for study and letters. After acquiring a perfect knowledge of history and the *belles-lettres*, she made great

progress in philosophy, through the obscurity in which it was in those time involved. She employed her acquirements in composing a history, in fifteen volumes, of the life and reign of the emperor her father, a work which she entitled "*The Alexiad;*" eight of these books were published by Hæschelius, in 1610; and the whole fifteen, with a Latin version, in 1651. In 1670 the learned Charles du Fresne published another edition with historical and philological notes. Anna Comnena has been accused of partiality in this work, in which the actions of her father appear to greater advantage than in the writings of the Latin historians, who, it is not impossible, might have cherished prejudices against a Greek emperor. The truth is probably to be found in the medium. The *Journal des Savans* thus speaks of Anna in 1675:

"The elegance with which Anna Comnena has, in fifteen books, described the life and actions of her father, and the strong and eloquent manner in which she has set them off, are so much above the ordinary capacity of women, as almost to excite a doubt whether she were indeed the author of the work. It is impossible to read the descriptions she has given of countries, rivers, mountains, towns, sieges, battles, the reflections she makes upon particular events, the judgment she passes upon human actions, with her digressions on various occasions, without perceiving that she must have been well skilled in grammar, rhetoric, philosophy, and mathematics; nay, even that she must have possessed some knowledge of law, physic, and divinity—studies very rare and uncommon in her sex."

Dictionnaire Historique des Femmes Célébrées—The Female Worthies.

ISABELLA DE CORDAUD.

This lady, beautiful, rich, accomplished, and mistress of the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, took her degrees in theology, with the title of doctor.

CHARLOTTE CORDEY.

Of this young heroine of the French revolution, which called forth and displayed so many virtues and vices, but little is known. She was the daughter of a man attached, by his place, to the court. Jacques Adrian de Cordey, her grandfather, married Mary Renée Adelaide de Belleau, lady de la Motte, in the parish of Courtone, near Orbec, by whom he had four sons and four daughters. James Francis de Cordey, sieur d'Ermont, the third of these sons, married Mary Carola Gautier des Antiers. Four sons and two daughters, one of whom was the celebrated Charlotte, were the fruit of this union. The father was living a short time since in the city of Argentan, in the department of l'Orne. The sons, it is believed, were emigrants.

Charlotte having imbibed, with all their enthusiasm, the republican principles, conceived a just indignation at the character and conduct of Marat; and, with a truly Roman spirit, meditated a generous sacrifice for the deliverance of her bleeding country. Young, rich, and beautiful, she quitted the bosom of her family and the occupations of her sex, and, armed with a dagger, came to Paris, alone, unprotected, without confidants or accomplices. Under the pretence of business she procured admission to the apartments of Marat, whom, with an unerring arm, and a dauntless spirit, she stabbed to the heart, as, reclining on a sopha, he perused a paper which she had previously presented to him.

She surrendered herself a prisoner with calm intrepidity, and expected, without shrinking, the fate which awaited her. She preserved the same presence of mind, and the same tranquillity, through the whole of her examination and trial, justifying and triumphing in the deed she had committed. At the place of execution, she appeared with an unchanged and cheerful aspect; her pulse beat with a temperate regularity, nor did the colour in her cheeks once vary. She spoke not, but frequently placed her hand on her heart, with an animated gesture more eloquent than words. In the satisfaction of having delivered the earth from a monster, and the anticipation of future glory, all concern for the present seemed absorbed and annihilated.

A curious anecdote is related in connexion with her death. A young Frenchman, who saw her for the first time as she passed through the streets to the scaffold, struck with her beauty and the dignity of her aspect, conceived for her a violent and enthusiastic passion; and, running wildly through the city, proclaimed, with his sentiments and his despair, his determination of sharing the fate of the object of his admiration, and mingling with hers his blood. He was taken at his word by the satellites of the tyrant demagogues, and hurried to the guillotine.

The following is the translation of a letter addressed by Charlotte Cordey to her father, the evening before her trial, and dated,

"From the prison of the Conciergerie, in the apartment lately occupied by the deputy Brissot.

"July 16, 1793.

"My dear and respected father: Peace is about to reign in my beloved native country, for Marat* is no more! be comforted, and bury my memory in eternal oblivion. To-morrow, the 17th, at seven in the morning, my trial will take place. I have achieved a glorious exploit; I have therefore lived long enough. I put you under the protection of Barbaroux and his colleagues, in case you should be molested. Let not my family blush at my fate; for, remember, according to Voltaire, 'that crimes beget disgrace, and not the scaffold.'

"Your affectionate daughter,

"MARIE ANNE VICTOIRE CHARLOTTE CORDEY."

While the behaviour of Charlotte Cordey extorts a tribute of admiration, the principle of assassination must ever be reprobated. Private judgment is too much connected with the passions and the imagination to be entrusted with the avenging sword.

Anecdotes of the Founders of the French Republic, &c.

* Charlotte mistook her victim. Marat was sinking into the tomb from disease. It was Robespierre that marked with an indelible stain the cause of liberty and the French name.

CORINNA.

Corinna, a Theban poetess, daughter of Archelodorus and Procratia, and the disciple of Mirthis, is said to have borne away the palm five times from Pindar, the celebrated lyric poet. She composed five books of epigrams, and was not less celebrated for her beauty than for her genius. She is mentioned by Propertius and other writers. Two ladies of the same name have been distinguished for their talents: Corinna, the Thespian, applauded by Statius, and by the ancient writers. Also the Roman Corinna, who, living in the time of Augustus, was celebrated by Ovid.

The Female Worthies—Dictionnaire Historique des Femmes Célébrées.

HELENA LUCRETIA CORNARO.

Helena Lucretia, daughter of Gio Baptisto Cornaro, born at Venice in 1646, received a learned and scientific education, and, after many years spent in study, took at Padua a doctor's degree. She was also admitted a member of the university at Rome. Having determined to devote her life to the sciences, she made a vow of celibacy, from which neither solicitations, nor the offer of a dispensation from the Pope, could induce her to swerve. The title of *unalterable* was given to her at Padua, and that of the *humble* at Rome, of which her fortitude and modesty rendered her equally deserving.

Her profound studies, added to the severity of her devotions, impaired her health and shortened her life. The report of her talents and acquirements attracted the attention of the literati of the age, and of foreigners who passed through Venice, of which she was accounted the greatest curiosity. The cardinals de Bouillon and d'Etrees, having been ordered by the king of France to visit Lucretia, in their way to Italy, and to make a report of the truth of her acquirements, added their testimony to her learning and abilities, which became celebrated throughout Europe. She was particularly skilled in the Greek and Roman languages, in mathematics and the sciences. Her constitution failing beneath unremitted application,

she expired in the beginning of the year 1685. A twelvemonth before her decease, presaging from the symptoms she felt, that her life would not be long, she pointed out to her father, while walking with him in the garden, an old cypress tree, which she desired might be cut down to make her a coffin.

The academicians of Rome, to whose society she had been admitted, composed numberless eulogies and odes to her memory. They also celebrated in her honour funeral solemnities, to which the whole city crowded, in the college of the Barnabite fathers, where they usually assembled. Of these ceremonies, performed with great pomp and magnificence, a description was published at Paris, in 1686, and dedicated to the Venetian republic. A funeral oration was delivered by one of the academicians, in which the fine qualities of the deceased were amply panegyrised, and in which she was extolled above Pompey, who triumphed over three kings, for her conquest over voluptuousness, ignorance, and pride, a victory more praise-worthy, and of more difficult achievement.

Biographium Fœmineum—The Female Worthies—Dictionnaire Historique.

ANONYMOUS.

A DAUGHTER of a Boulognois gentleman, in the 13th century, devoted herself to the study of the Latin language, and of the laws. At the age of three-and-twenty she pronounced, in the great church at Boulogne, a funeral oration in Latin, which obtained, for its eloquence, great applause. At twenty-six, she took the degree of doctor, and undertook to read publicly, at her house, the *Institutions of Justinian*. At thirty, her reputation raised her to the chair of the professor, where she taught the law to a concourse of people of all nations. To masculine knowledge, she added all the elegance of her sex, and it was only when she spoke that her hearers forgot her beauty. The same example was, in the same city, renewed in the 14th century, and again in the 15th. Also, in more modern times, the philosophic chair of Boulogne has been filled with distinction by a woman.

CORNELIA.

CORNELIA, wife to Scipio Africanus, and mother of the Gracchi, gave public lectures of Philosophy in Rome. "We are much indebted," says Quintilian, "for the eloquence of the Gracchi to their mother Cornelia, whose unparalleled learning is, in her excellent epistles, bequeathed to posterity." Cicero also thus speaks of her: "Cornelia, had she not been a woman, would have deserved the first place among philosophers." Her reply to the lady who boasted of her jewels, and to whom she presented her sons, as her most valuable ornaments and possession, is well known. A statue was placed on her sepulchre with the following inscription: "Here lieth interred the most learned Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi. She was fortunate in her disciples whom she instructed, though unfortunate in her children."

Biographium Fœmineum—The Female Worthies, &c.

ELIZABETH CROMWELL.

ELIZABETH, daughter of sir James Bourchier (of the same family with the ancient earls of Essex of that name,) and wife of Oliver Cromwell, was a woman possessed of an enlarged mind and an elevated spirit. Though an excellent housewife, she was capable of appearing with dignity in the station to which she was exalted, as wife of the lord protector. She took a profound interest in political affairs, and stimulated her husband in the career of ambition. She educated her children with ability, and governed her family with address. She survived her husband fourteen years. On the restoration, she prudently retired, and passed the remainder of her life in obscurity. She died October 8th, 1672,

Letters published by Mr. Duncombe.

JUANA INEZ DE LA CRUZ.

JUANA INEZ DE LA CRUZ, was born in November, 1651, a few leagues from the city of Mexico. Her father, a Spaniard, had sought wealth by an establishment in America, where he married a lady of the country, but of Spanish extraction. Juana, the fruit of this union, displayed in early childhood a passion for letters, and an extraordinary facility in the composition of Spanish verse. At eight years of age, she was placed by her parents with an uncle, who resided in Mexico, and who caused her to receive a learned education. Her talents having attracted notice and distinction, she was patronized by the lady of the viceroy, the marquis de Mancera, and, at the age of seventeen, was received into his family.

A Spanish encomiast of Juana, relates a curious anecdote respecting her, communicated to him, as he affirms, by the viceroy. Her patrons, filled with admiration and astonishment, by the powers and attainments of their young *protegée*, determined to prove the extent and solidity of her erudition. For this purpose they invited forty of the most eminent literary characters of the country, who assembled to examine Juana in the different branches of learning and science. Questions, arguments, and problems, were accordingly proposed to her, by the several professors, in philosophy, mathematics, history, theology, poetry, &c. to all of which she answered with equal readiness and skill, acquitting herself to the entire satisfaction of her judges. To this account it is added, that she received the praises extorted on this occasion by her acquirements, with the most perfect modesty; neither did she, at any period of her life, discover the smallest tendency to presumption or vanity, though honoured with the title of the *tenth muse:* a pious humility was her distinguishing characteristic. She lived forty-four years, twenty-seven of which she passed in the convent of St. Geronimo (where she took the veil) in the exercise of the most exemplary virtues.

That enthusiasm by which genius is characterised, necessarily led to devotion in circumstances like those in which Juana was placed. In the fervour of her zeal, she wrote in her blood a confession of her faith. She is said to have collected a

library of four thousand volumes, in the study of which she placed her delight: nevertheless, towards the close of her life, she sacrificed this darling propensity for the purpose of applying the money which she acquired by the sale of her books, to the relief of the indigent. However heroic may be the motive of this self denial, the rectitude of the principle is doubtful: the cultivation of the mind, with its consequent influence upon society, is a more real benefit to mankind than the partial relief of pecuniary exigences.

Juana was not less lamented at her death, than celebrated and respected during her life: her writings were collected in three quarto volumes, to which are prefixed numerous panegyrics upon the author, both in verse and prose, by the most illustrious persons of old and new Spain. It is observed by the Spanish critic, father Feyjoo, that the compositions of Juana excel in ease and elegance, rather than in energy and strength. This is perhaps in some degree attributable to the age in which she lived, and to the subjects of her productions, which were principally compliments addressed to her friends, or sacred dramas, to which an absurd and senseless superstition afforded the materials. The following is an imitation in English of one of her poems, in which she complains of what is keenly felt by every woman of understanding, the injustice suffered by her sex.

" Weak men, who without reason aim
To load poor woman with abuse,
Not seeing that yourselves produce
The very evils that you blame!

" You 'gainst her firm resistance strive,
And having struck her judgment mute,
Soon to her levity impute
What from your labour you derive.

" Of woman's weakness much afraid,
Of your own prowess still you boast;
Like the vain child who makes a ghost,
Then fears what he himself has made.

" Her whom your arms have once embrac'd,
You think presumptuously to find,
When she is woo'd as Thais kind,
When wedded, as Lucretia chaste.

" How rare a fool must he appear,
Whose folly mounts to such a pass,
That first he breathes upon the glass,
Then grieves because it is not clear.

" Still with unjust, ungrateful pride,
You meet both favour and disdain;
The firm as cruel you arraign,
The tender you as weak deride.

" Your foolish humour none can please,
Since judging all with equal phlegm;
One for her rigour you condemn,
And one you censure for her ease.

" What wond'rous gifts must her adorn,
Who could your lasting love engage;
When rigorous nymphs excite your rage,
And easy fair ones raise your scorn.

" But while you show your pride or pow'r,
With tyrant passions vainly hot,
She's only blest who heeds you not,
And leaves you all in happy hour."

Sketches of the History, Genius, &c. of Woman.

CYNISCA.

AGESILAUS, king of Sparta, to prove his contempt for the ambition displayed in the races at the Olympic games, persuaded his sister Cynisca to enter the lists. The lady was successful, and bore away the prize from all competitors. She was the first woman who obtained this honour. She consecrated horses of brass, as a monument of her victory, which were placed at the entrance of the temple of Jupiter Olympius. The poet Simonides wrote an epigram in her praise. Her statue, made by Apelles, and adorned with several inscriptions was placed in the temple of Juno at Elis. The Lacedemonians also erected to her a monument.

Bayle's Historical Dictionary, &c.

MADAME DACIER.

Anne, daughter of Tannequy le Fevre, and of Marie Oliver his wife, was born at Saumur, in 1651. Her father, it is related, had an acquaintance who practised judicial astrology, and who, on the birth of the infant, desired he might be allowed to cast her nativity. After finishing his figures, he told M. le Fevre, there must have been some mistake respecting the exact instant of the birth of the child, since her horoscope promised a fortune and fame quite foreign to a female. This story must be left to the faith of the reader, but, whatever might be its truth, it is certain that an incident occurred when mademoiselle le Fevre was about ten years of age, which determined her father, who was professor of the *belles lettres* at Saumur, to give her the advantages of a learned education.

M. le Fevre had a son whom he instructed in the classics; and to whom he usually gave lessons in the room in which his daughter worked in tapestry. The youth, whether from incapacity or inattention, was sometimes at a loss when questioned by his father: on these occasions, his sister, who appeared to be wholly occupied with her needle and her silks, never failed to suggest to him the proper reply, however intricate or embarrassing the subject. M. le Fevre was, by this discovery, induced to cultivate the talents of his daughter. Mademoiselle le Fevre afterwards confessed, that she felt at the time a secret vexation for having thus betrayed her capacity, and exchanged the occupations and amusements of her sex, under the eye of an indulgent mother, for the discipline of her father, and the vigilance and application necessary to study.

After having learned the elements of the Latin language, she applied herself to the Greek, in which she made a rapid progress, and at the end of eight years no longer stood in need of the assistance of a master. As her mind strengthened, and acquired a wider range, she emancipated herself from the trammels of authority, and laid down plans of study, which she pursued with perseverance; she now read and thought for herself, and frequently, though with the utmost modesty and deference, presumed to differ, on subjects of literature and criticism, from her respectable father. Of this, the translation of

Quintius Curtius, by the celebrated Vaugelaus, afforded an example. M. le Fevre accorded, on this occasion, with the popular opinion of the times, in considering this performance as a master-piece of eloquence: his daughter, on the contrary, whether more acute, or less easily satisfied, censured the translation, as defective in purity of style, and in the idiom of the French language.

In 1673, when on the point of departing for Heidelberg, whither the elector palatine had invited him, on advantageous conditions, M. le Fevre suddenly expired. His daughter, on this event, repaired to Paris, where she fixed her residence, and in which she published her first work, an edition of the poetry of Callimachus, to which she added a Greek scholium, a Latin version, and critical notes. This performance was dedicated to M. Huet, under-preceptor to the dauphin, from whom the author received nine epigrams of Callimachus, with which she enriched a new edition. In her preface, she intimates 'that certain of the learned, it was probable, would find some difficulty in divining by what motive her father could have been induced to train up his daughter to the study of the *belles lettres*, rather than to employ her in the ordinary occupations of her sex.' To these she answers, that 'M. le Fevre, in what he had done, wished to make it appear, that there was in the world a *woman*, whose industry and attainments would one day reflect disgrace upon their negligence and slothfulness in the cultivation of letters.' Of this edition of Callimachus, in one volume 4to, which appeared not till 1675, the abbé Gallois, in his "*Journal des Savans*," thus speaks:

"The republic of letters is indebted to learned women for four hundred different works, which a curious man, had he sufficient boldness, might take a pleasure in collecting. It is not necessary that he should go out of the kingdom, or even out of Paris, to know that there are women who write with the greatest delicacy. It is no longer rare to see them understand Latin, and write it with a purity worthy of ancient Rome. But, in her application to the Greek language, Mademoiselle le Fevre has but few competitors among her own sex. She has given to Callimachus all the beauty of which it was capable."

The epistle dedicatory of mademoiselle le Fevre, her preface and notes on Greek poetry, were reprinted at Utrecht, in 1697, in the Callimachus of Grévius, in two volumes 8vo. Mademoiselle le Fevre acquired by this first essay of her learning and critical powers great applause. It is also said to have revived the emulation of M. Dacier, who had studied with her, under her father, and whom she afterwards espoused: soon after the appearance of Callimachus, he entered the career of literary fame, by a translation of Horace, and remarks on the Greek text of Longinus. The reputation of these works attracted the attention of the duke de Montausier, who presided over the education of the dauphin, and who insisted on having their authors united to a society of learned men, charged with the care of facilitating to his pupil the perusal of the ancient Latin authors, by notes, paraphrases, or explanations, divested of superfluous erudition, of the most obscure and difficult passages. To an appointment so honourable, the modesty of the lady led her to oppose objections, which were however over-ruled. Four Latin authors being allotted as her portion of the labour, she made choice of the historians Florus, Dictys de Crete, Aurelius Victor, and Eutropius, while M. Dacier was charged with Festus. On this occasion, Bayle, in his News from the Republic of Letters (October, 1684,) observes: That the greater part of those who had been charged with giving commentaries, had not completed their task, though they had employed in it a longer time than had been originally allowed; but that mademoiselle le Fevre, surpassing them all in diligence, had gained the start of a number of men, engaged in the same occupation, her Florus being printed in 1674, her Dictys in 1680, Aurelius Victor in 1681, and Eutropius in 1682. "Thus," adds he, "we behold our arrogant sex vanquished by this illustrious learned female, who has published four books before they have completed one: nor has she been prevented by this employment from producing other works." Her epistle dedicatory, her preface, and her notes on Dictys, were by the cares of M. Smidis, reprinted in 1702, in the Amsterdam edition, in 4to, and in 8vo. M. Pitiscus, also, in his edition of Aurelius Victor, printed at Utrecht, in 8vo, 1696, inserted mademoiselle le Fevre's remarks on this historian. Her Florus, and her Eutropius were reprinted in England,

in 8vo, the former in 1702, the latter 1705. The precision and neatness of style which appeared in her notes and paraphrases on these authors, accorded exactly with the views of M. de Montausier, and fitted them admirably for his purpose.

An anecdote is related respecting the conduct of the duke to mademoiselle le Fevre, that reflects on him, if true, infinite credit. Having, it is said, dedicated a book to the king of France, she could find no person willing to introduce her at court, that she might present her work to his majesty, on account of her profession of the reformed religion. In this dilemma, the duke of Montausier, though governor to the prince, offered to her his services, took her in his carriage to court, and presented her to the king. 'You do wrong,' said the monarch, 'to countenance heretics; my name shall never sanction the production of a heretic.' 'Is it thus, sire,' replied the duke with noble freedom, 'that you are the patron of literature, the Augustus of the age? A king ought never to be a bigot. I will myself thank the lady in your majesty's name, and present her with an hundred pistoles, leaving you, sire, to choose between acting like a monk or like a great prince.'

Mademoiselle le Fevre having learned that Christina, queen of Sweden, with whose reputation only she was acquainted, had conceived an esteem for her writings, took the liberty of addressing to her an elegant Latin epistle, accompanied by Callimachus and Florus. Christina replied to her in French, in a letter dated May 21st, 1678, in which she observes, that her present had caused her to pass many agreeable hours. "By what secret charm," adds she, among many other obliging expressions, "have you known how to make the muses accord with the graces? Had you the power to draw fortune to this alliance, it would be a combination almost without example, and which would leave us nothing more to wish. The knowledge of the truth cannot long be concealed, since a *woman* is able to entertain herself with the holy authors in their original language." The queen of Sweden, some years afterwards, full of admiration for a merit of which examples are rare, invited mademoiselle le Fevre, by a second letter, to abjure protestantism, and accompany her to Rome, where she promised her a considerable establishment. This offer was, with respect and modesty, gratefully declined.

The works which mademoiselle le Fevre had so successfully and so promptly executed, procured for her, through the credit and patronage of M. de Montausier, several gratifications from the king, which, in 1685, were followed by a regular pension. In testimony of her gratitude to the duke, she dedicated to him the poems of Anacreon and Sappho, of which she gave a translation in prose, enriched by curious remarks. These performances were printed at Paris, by Thierry, in 12mo. The voluptuous graces, the simple and natural turns of the original, were so well preserved by mademoiselle le Fevre, that, in the judgment of critics, her translation was allowed to surpass all those by which it had been preceded. M. de la Motte, by an ingenious fiction, flattering to the translator, regards it as the work of *Love* himself. With this judgment the fourth *Journal des Savans* (1682) seems to agree. "As Greece has nothing more gallant or more polished than the poems of Sappho and Anacreon, so France has seen nothing more just than this translation: the delicacy with which mademoiselle le Fevre has imitated the almost inimitable simplicity of the original, is not less admirable than the secret which she has been the first to discover, of passing faithfully into prose all the graces which are to be found in the Greek verse." The translation of Anacreon, with the Latin notes of the translator, was reprinted in Holland, in 12mo.

Mademoiselle le Fevre, having at length conceived the design of going over a great part of the theatrical remains of the Greeks and Romans, gave to the public, as a sample, a translation of three comedies of Plautus, Amphitryon, Epidicus, and Rudens, or *l'Heureux Naufrage*, with comments, and an examination of each piece, according to the rules of the drama. This work, dedicated to M. Colbert, who patronised the author, was printed in 1683, by Thierry, in three volumes 12mo. It was reprinted in 1719, at Amsterdam, conjointly with seventeen other pieces of Plautus, translated by M. de Limiers. The character of the Latin poet, which chiefly consists in the vivacity and point of the dialogue, and in certain pleasantries, which mademoiselle le Fevre most happily rendered in French, was preserved by her throughout with equal felicity and spirit. If in this respect Plautus had opposed to her some difficulties, she felt herself not less embarrassed in the translation of Aris-

tophanes, from whom she gave two comedies, Plutus and Nubes, which had never before been attempted in French, and which appeared, with her remarks and examination, in 1684, in one volume 12mo. This work was accounted by the learned the boldest, and of the most arduous execution, of any that she had yet undertaken: to do justice to comedies of the character of those of Aristophanes, and, at the end of two thousand years, to transfuse into a translation sufficient grace and poignancy to render it acceptable to the taste of the French nation, was an achievment of no small difficulty. The translator was in this year elected a member of the academy of Ricovrati of Padua.

In that which preceded it, she had given her hand to M. Dacier, who, during his connexion with her father at Saumur, had acquired that taste for letters to which the public were afterwards indebted for so many learned productions. A young gentleman, on their nuptials, complimented the bride with the following distich:

> Docto nupta Viro, Docto prognata Parente,
> Non minor Anna Viro, non minor Anna Patre.

On her marriage, madame Dacier made known to the celebrated Bossuet, a design she had for some time formed of embracing the Romish communion: but M. Dacier, not at that time convinced of the propriety of the measure, retired with his wife to examine in concert the controversy between the catholic and the reformed churches: this investigation terminated in a mutual resolution of publicly abjuring the protestant faith. The ceremony took place at Castres, towards the middle of the year 1685, many months before the question of the revocation of the edict of Nantes was agitated. The conversion of this learned pair to the church of Rome, was followed by considerable favours from Louis XIV. On their return from Languedoc, whither they had been on a visit to the family of M. Dacier, they resumed their studies, to which their journey, and the change of their religious opinions, had given an interruption.

The reputation which madame Dacier had acquired by the comedies of Plautus and Aristophanes inclined her to turn her

attention to those of Terence, a design which one circumstance only seemed to oppose. A man of erudition and of piety had, by the version he had given of three of these comedies, carried away all suffrages: amidst the prepossession of the public for this performance, to persuade them it could be excelled would be a task of some difficulty. Madame Dacier, however, who understood better than most persons all the perfection of which certain works are capable, and who, in the most finished, was enabled to detect errors which escaped minds less penetrating and acute, resolved to essay her powers in private on an author so worthy of her labours. For this purpose she rose every morning at four o'clock, and pursued her task with so much application and diligence, that, in four months, she completed a translation of the four first comedies of Terence. But, after a time, having reperused them, she perceived them to be so little conformable to the genius of the author, that, in a fit of vexation, she threw them into the flames. Disappointed, but not discouraged, she still persevered in her design, with which she occupied herself for three months, during which interval she studied her author without ceasing, transfusing into her own mind his genius and spirit. Having thus surrendered herself to her purpose with new ardour, she made a second translation so superior to the first, that those among her friends who had been most prejudiced in favour of the ancient version, agreed, with one accord, that it was not comparable to that which was now presented to them. Their encomiums were justified by the approbation with which this performance was received by the public. The work was printed at Paris, in 1688, in three volumes 12mo, and reprinted at Rotterdam in 1717. Madame Dacier, in her version differed from those who had preceded her, by making some changes for the better division of the acts, which had before been indistinct. This improvement was confirmed by two manuscripts in the library of the king of France, which were not communicated to the translator till after the impression of her work.

About this period, M. Menage, who had been engaged in a controversy respecting Terence with the abbé d'Aubignac to whose party madame Dacier, after a strict examination, had inclined, determined on printing a third impression of his dis-

course on Terence, with corrections and additions: with a view of bribing her judgment, he dedicated it to madame Dacier. "I believe," said he, in his advertisement, "that I have well established all my positions; I avow, however, that there is one argument against me which I am unable to evade, the authority of madame Dacier, with which I am overwhelmed. Should this illustrious person, after having perused the last edition of my discourse, persist in opposing me, I shall be compelled to abandon my own cause."

It does not appear that madame Dacier was either convinced or seduced by the reasonings or the compliments of M. Menage, who nevertheless, some time afterwards (1690), dedicated to her a second book, under the title of *Historia Mulierum Philosopharum*,* which was printed at Lyons, in one volume 12mo, and reprinted in the fine edition of Diogene Laërce, published at Amsterdam in quarto, 1692. Madame Dacier was, in this performance, complimented with the title of *Fœminarum, quot sunt, quot fuere, doctissima.*† The author observes, that no person ought to be surprised that he should address to her a work of this nature, since Diogene Laërce dedicated his History of Philosophy to a woman. These were by no means the only honours of the kind which madame Dacier received: learned foreigners vied with her countrymen in proving their sense of her merit. The marquis d'Orsi, in 1703, addressed to her his Reflections on a work of P. Bouhours, entitled "*Sur la Maière de bien penser*," under the title of "*Considerationi sopra un famoso libro Franzese, &c.*" printed at Bologna in 8vo. In this performance madame Dacier is in some degree established arbitress of the dispute.

Similar tastes and pursuits had formed the bond of union between monsieur and madame Dacier; who, during the forty years of their marriage, lived in perfect harmony and affection. They had hitherto pursued their individual studies without interfering with each other; but their labours were at length united in a work proposed to them by the first president Harley, with whom they were closely connected. This was a French translation of the Moral Reflections of the emperor

* A History of Female Philosophers.

† The most learned woman of present or past times.

Marcus Antoninus, to which under the eye of the president, who from time to time inspected their progress, they diligently applied themselves in his agreeable house of *Mesmil Montant*, whither they retired to be less interrupted. The translation, accompanied by remarks, was ready to appear in 1691, and printed by Barbin in two volumes 12mo. It was preceded by a life of Marcus Antoninus, collected from various authors of antiquity, and addressed to M. Harley. It was reprinted at Amsterdam in 1710.

M. Dacier about this period lost his father, the settlement of whose affairs required diligence and attention: at the request of her husband, madame Dacier undertook the business, and quitted her studies for a journey to Castres. The letters which she then addressed to M. Dacier contained, with an exactness of detail truly admirable, the tenderest sentiments of conjugal affection, interspersed with remarks full of acuteness and erudition, on the books she perused in the intervals of business.

On her return, she proceeded, in concert with her husband, to a second work, not less difficult, and of greater length, than that which preceded it; a translation of the Lives of Plutarch, accompanied by a commentary. Of the first six, published by Barbin in 1694, madame Dacier translated two. "It is not easy," say the writers of the *Journal des Savans*, speaking of the Lives, in 1720, "to determine to whom they truly belong. M. Dacier, who has kept the secret, has had the pleasure to see them, by different persons, all in turn attributed to his spouse. These conjectures, without explaining the enigma, prove something equally extraordinary and honourable to both parties; whom an uniformity of thought and sentiment so perfectly united, that their style cannot be distinguished."

This work was interrupted by new projects and views. Madame Dacier, from her earliest youth, and under the guidance of a father passionately devoted to the beauties of antiquity, was familiarised with the poetry of Homer, for whom she had conceived the highest veneration. She at length determined, by a French translation, to make known more generally among her contemporaries, those excellences of which she was herself enamoured. Of the versions which had preceded hers, in her native language, scarce one could be read

without disgust. She laboured at this work with so much diligence, through fifteen or sixteen years, that, in 1711, she completed a translation of the Iliad, which she rendered more valuable and perspicuous by explanatory remarks. This performance, which reflected so much honour on the talents and learning of the translator, occasioned the famous controversy among the learned, respecting the ancients and the moderns. While numerous persons of taste and erudition received the work of madame Dacier with unbounded applause, others, of course, cavilled and criticised. Among its principal opponents were M. de la Motte, a dramatic poet, and the chief of the moderns, with the abbé Terrasson. The former printed a *Critique* in 1714, at the head of his new Iliad in verse: the latter published a Critical Dissertation, in two volumes 12mo, in 1715. On the other side also appeared many partizans and defences; among which may be named one from M. Boivin the younger, in 1715; a second from P. Hardouin, in the same year; a third, under the title of *d'Homere Vengé*, by an anonymous writer; with various others, too tedious to enumerate. Madame Dacier answered M. de la Motte in a volume entitled, "*Des Causes de la Corruption du Goût*," where she collected all that could contribute to the justification of Homer, who had been attacked with so much vivacity by the French poet. To this M. de la Motte replied with equal force and smartness. The contest, after having for some time afforded amusement to the public, was at length terminated by the meditation of M. Valincourt. Peace having been negociated, the reconciliation was solemnised at an entertainment given by the negociator on the occasion; when the immortal memory of Homer went round. Madame de Stahl (i. e. mademoiselle de Laundy) appeared at the festival in the character of Neutrality.

The Odyssey of Homer, which ought to have followed the Iliad, was not published till 1716. This delay was occasioned by the lively affliction which madame Dacier experienced on the death of an amiable and only daughter. She alludes to this affecting circumstance towards the conclusion of the preface to her Iliad, where she declares, that "struck by a blow so fatal, by which her spirits were overwhelmed, she was unable to perform her promise, having no power remaining, except to

complain." The translation of the Odyssey, accompanied by Remarks, was printed by Rigaud, in three volumes 12mo, as had been the Iliad. In the beginning of a learned preface to this performance, the translator advertises, that she had reserved herself to treat of the art of an epic poem in a separate dissertation, in which she purposed to collect the principal rules for this poem, to discover the true foundation of these rules, and to make the application. But reasons, of which she could not inform the public, lest, however exempt she might naturally be from that frailty, they should accuse her of vanity, had obliged her to change her plan. "I have been made to perceive," adds she "that the most natural and proper place for this dissertation was the preface itself of the Odyssey, in order that those who read Homer in my translation, having at hand all the necessary aids, may read it with the more utility and pleasure, *and I obey.*" It was to the advice of M. le Dauphin, duke de Bourgogne, who paid particular attention to the works of madame Dacier, that she gave this testimony of respect. Towards the end of her preface, she devotes four pages to the abbé Terrasson. "Behold," says she, "all the answer which this great critic shall have from me. Another combat calls me. It is necessary to refute the Apology of R. P. Hardouin, one of the greatest scholars of the age. Who could have believed, that, after having combated the censurers of Homer, I should take up arms against one of his defenders? Yet this is what I am about to do: my answer, which I trust will be received with some pleasure by the lovers of Homer, or rather the lovers of reason, shall not long be wait[illegible] for." The answer alluded to, printed by Coignard, appeared some months afterwards, in a small volume in 12mo, entitled, "*Homer défendu contre l'Apologie du R. P. Hardouin, ou Suites de Causes de la Corruption du Goût.*"

This publication was the most singular circumstance which attended the Homerican controversy. Madam Dacier had purposed here to finish her public career: but, in her second edition of the Iliad, 1719, she added some reflections on the first part of Mr. Pope's preface, published with the beginning of his translation of the Iliad into English verse. These remarks respected some mistakes and some contradictions made by the English poet, in his judgment of the merits of Homer.

At length, after having contributed so largely towards enriching the republic of letters, and after so many arduous and useful labours, madame Dacier resolved on retiring with her well-earned laurels: she purposed in future to continue her commerce with the muses only for her own private entertainment. A project so rational and laudable was deranged by a stroke of the palsy, with which she was attacked in May, 1720. It does not appear that her intellects suffered by this malady, which however rendered it necessary that her attention should be turned from the labours of the mind to those cares which the weakness of her frame rendered indispensable. After submitting to a course of remedies, she seemed to be relieved: but these appearances were not more flattering than fallacious. At the end of three moths, she suffered a second stroke more violent than the former, and which terminated her life, on the 17th of August, in the sixty-ninth year of her age. Her death was generally regretted: her virtue, her firmness, her benevolence, and her equanimity, had, during her life, procured her still more respect and esteem than her eminent learning and talents.

Of her modesty the following anecdote may afford a proof. It is a custom of the men of letters of the north to visit, when on their travels, persons eminent for their talents or endowments, and to request them to write their names, accompanied by a sentence, in a book which they carry for the purpose. A learned German, waiting on madame Dacier, desired her to add her name to his collection. 'To do so,' replied she, very unaffectedly, 'would be the highest presumption. I am not worthy to appear in such company.' The German remonstrated, and renewed his suit. At length, overcome by his solicitations, she took the pen, and having inserted her name, wrote beneath it, in English, a verse from Sophocles, implying that silence is the greatest ornament of a woman.

Monsieur Dacier was inconsolable for her loss, nor did he long survive her. Never had there been a couple more united, more suited to each other, and between whom a more entire affection had subsisted. M. Dacier exhibited in his manners, his sentiments, and his character, a perfect model of the ancient philosophy, of which he was an enthusiastic disciple. He published some of the classics *ad usum Delphini*, was a member

of the academy of Inscriptions, also of the French academy, of which he was afterwards chosen perpetual secretary. When the medallic history of Lewis XIV. was completed, M. Dacier presented it to the king, who, knowing the great share which he had taken in it, settled on him a pension of two thousand livres, and nominated him his librarian. Madame Dacier was joined in this charge, the prerogatives of which she was to retain should she survive her husband; a singular and unparalleled compliment to a woman.

Madame Dacier had composed observations on the Scriptures, which she refused to make public: to those who urged her on this subject, she replied, 'That a woman should read the Scriptures, and meditate on them as a rule of conduct, but that, agreeably to the precept of St. Paul, she should keep silence.'*

The aid of the muses was invoked to bewail the death of their illustrious and learned votary, whose memory was consecrated by odes, elegies, epitaphs, and sonnets, without number. A Latin elegy, by M. l'abbé Fraguier, addressed to M. Dacier, on his irreparable loss, obtained particular distinction. The abbé, in a poetical fiction, describes the arrival of madame Dacier in the Elysian fields, her interview with her daughter, who is the first to welcome her, and the compliments paid to her by the shade of Homer. An epitaph was also composed on her death by M. de la Monnoye, in which, with much art, he compresses in six verses the principal circumstances of her life.

Madame Dacier had borne to her husband a son and two daughters; the former, who did not survive his eleventh year, was familiar with the best Greek authors, and gave promise of superior talents. The eldest daughter retired to a convent, while the younger, the hope and delight of her parents, expired, as has been before mentioned, in the bloom of her youth.

Dictionnaire Historique des Femmes Célébrées—Biographium Fœmineum—Lives of French writers—Memoirs of Madame de Stahl.

* These expressions, from a woman of professed literature, savour of affectation rather than of humility: genuine modesty neither exacts nor disclaims, but is artless, sincere, and simple.

ELIZABETH DANCY.

ELIZABETH, second daughter of sir Thomas More, was born in London, 1509, and educated with her sisters in the house of her father. She corresponded with Erasmus, who praises the pure Latin style in which her epistles were written. She was, in early youth, married to Mr. Dancy, son and heir of sir John Dancy. Her productions, and the time of her death, are uncertain. Dr. Thomas Stapleton mentions having seen an apology of sir Thomas More's to the university of Oxford, translated into Latin by one of his daughters, and again into English by another: their names are not specified. One of these ladies also translated into English a Latin paraphrase on the Lord's prayer, which bishop Tanner, in his *Bibliotheca*, attributes to Mrs. Roper.

Ballard's Memoirs of British Ladies, &c.

THEODORA DANTE.

THEODORA DANTE, an Italian lady, having been taught the mathematics by her father, became in her turn the teacher of one of her nephews, who, with his aunt, acquired, towards the end of the 16th century, great reputation for his skill in this sublime and useful science.

Dictionnaire Historique, &c.

DAMOPHILA.

DAMOPHILA, the wife of Damophilus the philosopher, was the contemporary, relation, and emulatrix, of Sappho. She composed a poem on Diana, and a variety of odes on amatory subjects. She is mentioned by Theophilus in his life of Apollonius Thayneus.

LOUISA DARBACH.

Louisa Darbach (or Karsch*) was born in 1722, in a small hamlet called Nammer, on the borders of Lower Silesia, between Zulichau and Crassen. Her father, a brewer, a publican, and the first man in the village, which contained seven poor inhabitants, died before Louisa had completed her eighth year. On this event, the brother of her grandmother, an aged, but sensible man, who resided in Poland, took to his house the little orphan, whom he taught to read and write.

Having remained three years with this worthy man, she quitted him to return to her mother, with whom her first employment was the care of an infant brother, and afterwards the charge of three cows, the whole maternal stock. About this period it was observed that Louisa began to take great delight in singing a number of hymns which she had learned, and which she was accustomed to chant while tending on the cattle, or employed with her work. She soon after made her first poetical essays, in which she was assisted by a shepherd, who dwelt on the opposite side of the river, from whom she procured a few books. A German romance, the Arabian Nights' Entertainments, the Asiatic Barrise, and Robinson Crusoe, composed the whole of her borrowed library. With these volumes, so admirably fitted to awaken the imagination, she amused herself in the fields, and appeared quite happy, till compelled to quit them to attend the children, or to perform domestic business.

In this situation she remained till she entered her seventeenth year, when her mother provided for her a husband, whom she was prevailed upon to accept. The man she married followed the profession of wool-comber, which obliged her, as was fit, to take a share in the labour, and prepare for him the wool: this employment which, with her household cares, fully occupied her time, left her little leisure to cultivate the muses. She nevertheless composed verses while she worked, and on Sunday, when she had a few hours to herself, committed them to paper.

* The name of her second husband.

The death of her husband, who probably bore no resemblance to the heroes of romance, relieved her, after nine years, from her mechanical labours. But it appears, that she enjoyed not long this liberty: her mother, who seems to have thought that it was not good for woman to be alone, persuaded her, a second time, to enlist under the matrimonial banner. Her second marriage proved still more unhappy than the first; poverty, and accumulated sorrows, embittered her days: but even in this situation, so cheerless and ungenial, the fire of her genius was not quenched.

She obtained a sight of some poems, written by a clergyman, well known at Berlin, whose name was Schonemann, who had, after a violent fever, been seized with a poetic mania, during which he both spoke and preached in verse. In these performances it may be supposed that marks of a disordered imagination must appear; they served, nevertheless, to excite the enthusiasm of Louisa, and to rouse her dormant powers. She became now, amidst all the disadvantages of her situation, ardently determined to follow the bent of her talents: in this resolution she was at length encouraged by several gentlemen, into whose hands her fugitive pieces had fallen. Among these was professor Meyer, of Halle, with whom she had no personal acquaintance. Her first patrons, chiefly inhabitants of Transtadt in Poland, are mentioned by her in the preface to her poems, with grateful respect. It was by M. Kerber, of Great Lissa, that her productions were first committed to the press.

By the victories of the king of Prussia, her muse was inspired to take a higher flight. In 1755 she had removed with her family to Great Glogau, where, having gained access to a bookseller's shop, she rioted in the luxury of literature, and read promiscuously, with rapture and rapidity, all that came to hand. This indulgence was of great advantage to her subsequent productions: the images that forcibly struck her, she firmly retained. She read, with pleasure and profit, the military songs of a Prussian grenadier, Ramler's odes, and Mrs. Unzen's poems. The war, which concluded in 1754, and the exploits of the Prussian monarch, afforded a field for the display of her powers, which, on this occasion, soared far beyond her previous excursions. The battle of Lowoschutz was the

subject of her first triumphant ode: but poverty, the inheritance of the votaries of Apollo, still pursued her, though she supported with fortitude her lot.

In 1760 she became acquainted with baron Cottwitz, a Silesian nobleman, who, travelling through Glogau, was struck with her talents; and who, commiserating her distress, carried her with him to Berlin, where he introduced her to the circle of literati, and where, in a soil more congenial, her genius manifested itself in full lustre. Introduced at the court of a prince, the Macænas of his age, caressed and patronised, the chill hand of poverty relinquished its grasp. It was during this period that she composed the greater part of the poems printed in her collection. It is, however, worthy of observation, that the verses she was accustomed to compose rapidly, as objects seized her attention, or as her fancy warmed, had more merit than those produced in circumstances where leisure might have enabled her to give them higher polish. Among these is an extemporaneous ode to the memory of her uncle, the instructor of her childhood, written in 1761, on the following occasion:

Being one day in a select company at Berlin, her imagination was struck by the contrast between her present situation, and the sordid occupations of the earlier parts of her life: under this impression, and considering herself indebted for the change to him who, by teaching her to read and write, laid the foundation of her future attainments, she poured forth, at the moment, the lively emotions of a grateful heart, in eight poetical stanzas, from which the following are selected:

"Arise from the dust, ye bones that rest in the land where I passed my infant years! Venerable sage! re-animate the body! Ye lips that once fed me with the honey of instruction, be eloquent!

* * * * * * * * * *

"For ever flourish the broad lime, under whose shade I was wont to cling round thy neck, full of tenderness, like a child to the best of fathers, whilst thou wert reposing thyself on the mossy seat, tired as the reaper with the fatigues of a sultry day.

* * * * * * * * * *

"When at thy side, on some rosy bank, I sat weaving into chaplets for thy temples, the flowers my little hands had gathered, and, looking up to thee, smiled filial love, did thy soul then presage the good things that are now come to pass?

* * * * * * * * * *

"Mayest thou be clothed with three-fold radiance, and mayest thou be refreshed with the emanations of divine complacence more than the souls of thy companions! May every drop of temporal pleasure, with which my cup of joy overflows, be rewarded unto thee with continual draughts from the ocean of eternal beatitude!"*

Holcroft's Family Picture.

LADY ELEANOR DAVIES.

Eleanor, fifth daughter of lord George Audley, earl of Castlehaven, was born about the latter end of the reign of queen Elizabeth, or the beginning of that of James I. She received a learned education, and was twice married: her first husband was sir John Davies, the king's first serjeant at law in England, and attorney-general in Ireland. One son and one daughter were the fruit of this union: the former proved an idiot, and died young.

After the death of sir John Davies, his widow espoused Archibald Douglas. Neither of these marriages proved happy: the lady's singular turn of mind, and pretensions to prophetic inspiration, appear to have disgusted her husbands. She wrote and published a pamphlet most sublimely incomprehensible, under the following title: "The Lady Eleanor, her Appeal. Present this to Mr. Mace, the Prophet of the Most High, his Messenger. Printed in the year 1646." This performance, containing forty pages, concludes with an anagram on her name:

REVEAL O DANIEL ELEANOR AUDLEY.

It also gives an account of George Carr, "a Scottish lad, a deaf and dumb fortune teller," whom lady Eleanor took into her house, and who at length spoke, in a whistling tone of voice, resembling that of a bird, predicted future events, and performed many other wonderful things. The town becoming alarmed by the report of these miracles, the lady was compelled to part with her *protegé*, after which the spirit of prophecy fell upon herself. "Immediately upon which," to use her own

* A free translation from the original ode of eight stanzas, six lines each, taken from Holcroft's Family Picture.

words, "they were all vexed worse than ever, ready to turn the house upside down, laying this to his charge too; when laying aside household cares all, and no conversation with any but the word of God, first with the prophet Daniel, chap. viii. v. 13. I found out this place: *Then I heard one saint speaking unto another saint, said unto that certain saint which spake* (in the original) *to wit, the number of secrets, or the wonderful numberer* (Hebrew Palmoni). *How long the vision concerning the daily, and the transgression making desolate, to give the hoste, &c. And he said unto me, unto two thousand and three hundred days, shall the sanctuary be cleansed,* &c. &c. Then follows, in the same curious style, an account of her predictions, some of which she presented to archbishop Abbot. "Which book," says she, "was sacrificed by my first husband's hand, thrown into the fire; whose doom I gave him in letters of his own name (JOHN DAVIES, JOVE'S HAND) within three years to expect the mortal blow; so put on my mourning garment for that time; when about three days before his sudden death, before all his servants and friends at the table, gave him pass to take his long sleep, by him thus put off: '*I* pray weep not while I am alive, and I will give you leave to laugh when I am dead.*' According, which too soon came to pass, for contrary to a solemn vow, within three months married to another husband, who escaped not scot-free: he likewise burning my book, another manuscript: '*A Remembrance to the King, for beware* GREAT BRITAIN, *blow at hand.*" The above may afford a sufficient specimen of the lady's style of composition, and the use which she made of her learning. She complains grievously of the ill treatment of her second husband (whom she was in such haste to take), on the account of her predictions. This gentleman died July 28th, 1644.

After the marriage of Charles I., Henrietta, his queen, inquired of lady Davies when she should become pregnant? '*Oportet habere tempus,*' was the reply. Lady Davies also foretold the queen that she would bear a son, and, for a time would live happy. 'How long?' asked Henrietta. 'Sixteen years,' answered the prophetess; 'and that is long enough.' The entrance of the king interrupted the conversation. "He told

* The husband's answer it is presumed.

me," says lady Davies, "*he heard how I foretold my former husband of his death some three days before:* said, I told him of a certain servant of your majesty's, one extraordinary proper, &c. that forthwith was to come upon earnest business to me; and that hastened me the next day before his death, when I expected my gentleman: to which her majesty replied, '*That was the next way to break his heart,*' who was pleased so much to commend my choice without expecting any. And so that time twelve months the queen conceived a son; and although had forgotten me, yet some about her I informed, that her son should go to christening and burying in a day; coming before his time."

But whatever encouragement the queen might have given to lady Davies, Charles became displeased with her pretensions, and, on her taking a house at St. James's, sent Mr. Kirk, a gentleman of his bedchamber, to inform her, that "if she did not leave off her predictions in relation to his affairs, he would take another course." "To which," says she, "my answer was, I would take a course against him, namely, sir Archibald Douglas, that had burnt my papers to purchase his favour, and that he and all should know shortly. In the conclusion, Mr. Kirk said, '*He was not carried away with the vulgar, but prayed me to tell him, whether the king should have a son or no:*' unwilling to send him empty away, assured him a son, and a strong child, he not sparing to impart; accordingly solemnised with bonfires, &c."

This spirit of divination continued to involve the lady in numberless vexations: having printed more prophecies, and drawn up an offensive petition, the following order was issued against her from Whitehall: "His majesty doth expressly command the lord archbishop's grace, and his commissioners for causes ecclesiastical, that the petitioner be forthwith called before them for presuming to imprint the said book, and for preferring this detestable petition. Sidney Montague."

A curious account is given by the prophetess, in her usual style and manner, of the proceedings against her: "And his grace, the foreman of the jury, 1633, October 23, commanded first a candle, he that would not be warned; but said, '*No more of that;*' burnt the book, saying, '*My lords, I have made you a smoother of doom's-day, to be in such a year, about Candlemas,* till then she takes time enough; what shall we do next?*'

* The archbishop died (it is said) very near the time predicted.

When with one voice, '*Let her be fined three thousand pounds, excommunicated, no Bible allowed her, or pen and ink, or woman servant; carry her away.*' As by a warrant under twelve hands, confined to the gate-house for ever, where kept a close prisoner for two years, the lord's day unknown from another, &c." This punishment of the poor lady's whimsies was surely a little too serious.

Dr. Heylin, in his Life of Archbishop Laud, thus speaks of her: "And that the other sex might whet their tongues upon him also, the lady Davies, the widow of sir John Davies, attorney-general for king James in Ireland, scatters a prophecy against him. This lady had before spoken somewhat unluckily of the duke of Buckingham, importing that he should not live till the end of August, which raised her to the reputation of a *Cunning Woman* among the ignorant people: and now (1634) she prophecies of the new archbishop, that he should live but a few days after the 5th of November; for which and other prophecies of a more mischievous nature, she was after brought into the court of high commission; the woman being grown so mad, that she fancied that the spirit of the prophet Daniel to have been infused into her body; and this she grounded on an anagram which she made up of her name: viz. ELEANOR DAVIES: REVEAL, O DANIEL. And though it had too much by an S, and too little by an L, yet she found *Daniel* and *reveal* in it, and that served her turn. Much pains was taken to dispossess her of this spirit; but all would not do, till *Lamb*, then dean of the arches, shot her through and through with an arrow borrowed from her own quiver: for whilst the bishops and divines were reasoning the point with her out of the Holy Scriptures, he took a pen into his hand, and at last hit upon this excellent anagram: DAME ELEANOR DAVIES: NEVER SO MAD A LADY; which having proved to be true by the rules of art, 'Madam,' said he, 'I see you build much on *anagrams*, and I have found out one which I hope will fit you.' This said, and reading it aloud, he put it into her hands in writing; which happy fancy brought that grave court into such a laughter, and the poor woman thereupon into such a confusion, that afterward she grew either wiser, or was less regarded."

In the continuation of Baker's Chronicle, the lady Davies is mentioned with more respect. Dr. Peter du Moulin also thus speaks of her: "She was learned above her sex, humble below her fortune, having a mind so great and noble, that prosperity could not make it remiss, nor the deepest adversity cause her to shrink, or discover the least pusillanimity or dejection of spirit; being full of the love of God, to that fulness the smiling world could not add, nor the frowing from it detract." It is probable that the learning of this lady, acting upon a raised imagination, and a fanatic turn of mind, produced a partial insanity.

"Great wit to madness nearly is allied."

The year before her death, which took place in 1652, lady Davies published a pamphlet, entitled "The Restitution of Prophecy; that buried Talent to be revived. By the lady Eleanor, 1651." In this tract, written very obscurely, are many severities against the persecutors of the author.

Biographium Fœmineum—Ballard's British Ladies, &c.

THE COUNTESS OF DERBY.

During the struggles between the house of Stuart and the parliament, the countess of Derby bravely defended Latham house, and the Isle of Man, where she regarded herself as a queen. Disdaining to submit to those whom she considered as regicides and usurpers, she was the last person in the British dominions that yielded to the republic.

Granger's Biographical History of England.

THE COUNTESS OF DESMOND.

This lady lived at Inchiquin, in Munster. She married in the reign of Edward IV., when she danced with the duke of Gloucester.* She held her jointure from all the earls of Des-

* Walpole's Historic Doubts.

mond since that time,* and was as remarkable for her vivacity, as for her long life. At one hundred and forty years of age, she passed from Bristol to London, to solicit relief from the court, the house of Desmond having been ruined by an attainder. According to sir William Temple,† she survived some years after this, and we are informed by Lord Bacon, that twice, at least, she renewed her teeth. It is uncertain in what year she died, but she was not living in 1614, when sir Walter Raleigh published his history.

DIDO.

Dido, or Eliza, sister to Pygmalion, king of Tyre, was wife to Sichæus, whose riches tempting the rapacity of the tyrant, were the cause of his destruction. Dido, after the murder of her husband, escaped with the most valuable of his effects, and encountered a series of disastrous events. She at length landed on the coast of the Mediterranean, at a little distance from Tunis, where, having purchased land, she founded, with her followers, a colony.

Invited by a prospect of gain, the natives crowded to the infant settlement, and, finding themselves well treated, liberally supplied it with every necessary accommodation, till, in process of time, they became incorporated into one people.

As they rose into importance as a nation, the citizens of Utica sent to them ambassadors, who presented them with gifts, and exhorted them to build a city on the spot where they first landed. This proposal proving agreeable to Dido, she caused a city to be erected, to which she gave the name of Carthada, or Carthage, which, in the Phœnician language, signified the new city.

Virgil has, in his Ænead, with a poetic license, bordering on licentiousness, wantonly stained the memory of this princess, who lived at least two hundred years before his hero Æneas, and who ended her days, not a victim to ill-requited love, but to conjugal fidelity, in the temper and spirit of the times.

* Raleigh's History, book i. chap. v. sect. 5.
† Temple's Essay on Health and Long Life.

Jarbas, king of Getulia, made pretensions to her hand, and enforced his suit with the menace of a war, which the infant colony was not prepared to withstand. The queen, in this cruel dilemma, having bound herself by oath to take no second husband, and perceiving no other alternative, heroically ascended a funeral pile, and expired, a martyr to the manes of her husband and the safety of her people.

DIOTYMA.

Diotyma instructed Socrates in *Philosophia Amatoria*, or the Platonic notion of discovering from corporeal beauty that of the soul, of angelic natures, and of God.

Biographium Fœmineum.

LIVIA DRUSILLA.

The characteristic of the Roman nation was grandeur: its virtues, its vices, its prosperity, its misfortunes, its glory, its infamy, its rise and fall, were alike great. Even the women, disdaining the limits which barbarism and ignorance had, in other nations, assigned to their sex, emulated the heroism and daring of man. Ambition is the passion and scourge of republics; where every thing is possible, every thing will be attempted: it is the glory of human nature, that necessity only can bound its efforts.

Livia Drusilla descended from one of the most illustrious families of Rome, whose origin was even more ancient than that of the city itself. Her father, Livius Drusus Calidianus, being of the number of those proscribed by the triumvirate, entered precipitately into the measures of Brutus and Cassius; and, after the battle of Philippi, to avoid falling into the hands of the victors, terminated his own existence. To dignity of birth, brilliant talents, and high cultivation of mind, Livia added the charm of beauty. Lively, penetrating, sagacious, subtle, she read with facility the characters of those who approached her, and rendered them subservient to her purposes: to a soul active, haughty, and aspiring, she joined elegant and

insinuating manners. Proud of her descent, she affected the republican severity of character, yet without rusticity; she softened by courtesy the awe which she delighted to inspire. In the first bloom of her youth, she was espoused to Tiberius Claudius Nero, a patrician of her own kindred, a man of talents, learning, and courage, whose merits had been rewarded by Julius Cæsar with the pontificate; an office among the most considerable in Rome. To this distinction, the command of the colonies destined for the different towns in Gaul, was added, as a recompense for his conduct and valour during the Alexandrine war. A son on whom the name of his father had been bestowed, and whose infancy was marked with disasters, was the fruit of this marriage.

The assassination of Julius Cæsar proved a prelude to civil commotions. Octavius Cæsar, his adopted son, and Mark Antony, general of the troops, resolved to avenge his death, and to succeed, if practicable, to his power. But turning their arms against each other, Antony was defeated, and compelled to fly for his life; while Lepidus, distinguished by his birth and bravery, succeeded to the command of the army, and, in his turn, disputed with Octavius the victory.

These struggles terminated in a peace, in which the celebrated triumvirate, composed by the contending rivals, deluged Rome with the blood of its citizens. From this partition Lepidus was afterwards expelled by his more powerful competitors: Octavius possessed himself of the government of Italy, while Antony marched into Asia to hold the provinces in subjection. But between Octavius and Antony, ambition, which abides no competition, sowed the seeds of dissension, while the kingdom split into factions.

Tiberius, the husband of Livia, espoused the cause of Antony, whom he hastened to join on the side of Sicily. In this voyage, or rather flight, in which a thousand perils were encountered, Livia, with her infant, accompanied her husband. The troops of Octavius, informed of the design of Tiberius, endeavoured to intercept him, with a view of sacrificing him to the vengeance of their chief. Following him closely, they had nearly overtaken him at Naples; but the darkness of the night, and the prudence of the fugitives, in avoiding the great roads, enabled them to elude their pursuers. After wandering

through Sicily and Achaia, they arrived at Lacedæmon, whence they were obliged to depart suddenly, during the night, and, crossing the woods, to expose themselves to innumerable dangers: they were often surrounded with flames, which even once singed the robe and hair of Livia, as she sheltered her child in her arms.

In the mean time a new revolution took place in the affairs of Rome. The death of Fulvia (the wife of Antony), who had been instrumental, by sowing jealousy between the triumvirs, in kindling the war, prepared the way for negotiation; while peace was cemented by the marriage of Antony with Octavia, the sister of Octavius.

Nuptial festivities succeeded to the calamities of civil discord: the exiled nobles, among the most distinguished of whom was Tiberius, returned to their country. Livia, in the pride of beauty, and the full maturity of her powers, accompanied her husband back to Rome.

The charms, the talents, the magnificence, and the vivacity of the wife of Tiberius, attracted all hearts: even that of Octavius became sensible to her fascinations: his admiration was too fervent, and his attentions too marked, long to escape observation. A brilliant entertainment which he pretended to give to his friends, deceived no one: the object of this gallantry and splendor was apparent: Livia received the homage of the courtiers as the goddess of the feast. Ambition was in the soul of Livia the predominating passion, which the station and moderate fortune of her husband had hitherto checked and restrained. Octavius, to rank and splendor, added attractions yet more persuasive: he was in the prime of life, distinguished for his talents, for the graces of his person, the sweetness of his manners, and the majesty of his deportment; for spirit, vivacity, and courage. The vanity and the heart of the wife of Tiberius combined to betray her principles: she remained not long inflexible to the solicitations of her lover. Octavius, infatuated with the charms of a new object, discovered in the temper of Scribonia (with whom he had already contracted a marriage) an insupportable evil, to rid himself of which, he divorced her on the very day in which she presented to him a daughter.*

* Julia.

Having thus violated the laws of humanity and decency, his passion became little scrupulous: availing himself of his power, he modestly requested Tiberius to resign to him his wife. In what degree Livia influenced her husband on this occasion is not known; or whether the resignation had in it more of policy or generosity; but it is certain that the lady, though then in the seventh month of her pregnancy, became the wife of Octavius.

By the Roman laws, women were forbidden to contract a new marriage within ten months after the dissolution of their former engagements. But to the passions of a despot, law opposes a feeble restraint. Apollo and the oracles were, to preserve appearances, consulted, and a college of pontiffs summoned to remove every scruple. To the master of the world, gods and priests were equally propitious: the doubts of Octavius were removed, his conscience reassured, and a magnificent entertainment, at which the complaisant Tiberius was an invited guest, crowned his wishes and his triumph. The bride, on this occasion, suffered a temporary confusion, from the blunt simplicity of a buffoon retained for the amusement of the company. Livia being seated by her new consort, and Tiberius on the opposite side of the table, 'Are you in your place, madam?' inquired this privileged child of nature; 'or ought you not rather' (pointing to Tiberius) 'to sit by your husband?'

Three months after the elevation of Livia, she was delivered of a son, Claudius Drusus Nero, who was sent by Octavius to Tiberius his father. The Roman people, affecting to believe the infant the son of Octavius, sportively jested on his fortune. With him every thing was said to prosper: even Nature changed her laws in his favour.

About this period new disputes, which threatened the power and authority of Octavius, broke out at Rome; his prosperity suffered a reverse; his navy was twice defeated by the adherents of Pompey; into the hands of whose lieutenants he had himself nearly fallen: half his fleet was lost on the coast of Sicily. Had the discretion of Pompey seconded on this occasion his good fortune, the ruin of his rival had been complete. The heart of Livia, on these disastrous events, sunk in apprehension, while her imagination was haunted by the most terrible forebodings: signs, prodigies, and presages of calamity, formed

the only subjects of conversation at Rome. In this season of superstition and terror, a new augury gave a turn to the feelings of Livia: on her way to her country villa, a hen, holding in her beak a small branch of laurel, was dropped by an eagle into her lap. It was agreed by the diviners, that this accident, overruled by the gods, portended the future glory of the wife and posterity of Octavius.

A prediction so auspicious to her hopes and to her ambition, was received by Livia with transport, and liberally recompensed. The hen and the laurel-branch became also the objects of her care. From the former a numerous progeny was produced, that gave a name to the village in which they were hatched, called, from this incident, "The Village of Chickens." The latter, it is said, having been planted and cultivated, supplied, at the end of a few years, the wreaths with which the victors were crowned at the games.

Livia seemed to behold in an important naval victory, gained by the fleet of Octavius over that of his competitor, the prediction of the oracle verified. This advantage was followed by the death of Pompey, who, a short time after, fell by the blow of an assassin. The triumph of Octavius was sullied by cruelty: many of the most distinguished characters of the republic, victims to his jealousy, perished under the hand of the executioner. By his liberalities, he conciliated the favour of the troops; while of the honours tendered him by the senate, he accepted only the privileges offered to Livia and his sister Octavia, to whom the power of disposing of their estates was granted, and whose persons, like those of the tribunes, were pronounced sacred and inviolable.

The victory over Pompey was followed by the defeat of Antony, who, having violated his engagements, paid with his life the forfeit of his imprudence.

Peace thus restored to the empire, and the sovereignty confirmed to Octavius, he returned in triumph to Rome, where honours were showered upon him by the senate and people: he was created consul, tribune, censor, and chief pontiff: the appellations also of Augustus, and of the father of his country, were bestowed upon him: the government assumed a new form, and the republic was sunk in a monarchy. Liberty had taken its everlasting flight; the senate was subjugated to

the monarch; the laws were enfeebled, and in their place was established the sovereign will of an individual: the glory of Rome was extinguished for ever. The provinces followed the example of the capital; the new empire was every where acknowledged, and the friendship of the emperor courted by foreign powers. Livia participated in these honours, to which others more personal were added. A town was built, on which her name* was bestowed; her panegyric was pronounced in the senate, and the most splendid titles conferred upon her. By the poets she was celebrated as a goddess; while temples and altars were raised to her honour. In testimony of the esteem and affection he bore her, Augustus caused to be erected in *Via Sacra*,† on the ruins of a magnificent house belonging to Pollio, and pulled down for the purpose, a stately portico, which he dedicated to his wife. His behaviour towards her in private was the most respectful and tender, while on all occasions he showed great deference to her opinion and judgment.

Her unbounded complaisance seemed to merit from her husband these distinctions. Less tender than ambitious, less delicate than subservient to his gratifications, she shewed no displeasure at his frequent infidelities; she even affected to respect in his mistresses, towards whom she preserved a polite and courteous demeanor, the person of her husband: nor did she claim, from this indulgence, any personal license. Without pretending to austerity, she participated in all the honourable amusements of her rank: she appeared at the assemblies, diversions, races, games, and shows, with a guarded freedom, that, while it precluded censure, conciliated affection. Without prudery or coldness, she was accustomed to assert, that a sensible woman required for the preservation of her chastity no external forms. It being proposed to punish with death the wanton frolic of some young men who had appeared unclothed before her, she opposed the sanguinary decree, by saying, that on a chaste imagination a naked man produced no other impression than a statue. Politics were her pursuit, and government her talent: she observed and read men; while, by an impenetrable veil, her own sentiments were covered. Availing herself of the foibles of her husband, she obtained over him an

* Livias. † Sacred Street.

entire ascendency: the sovereign of the world was the dependent of a woman; who, assuming a boundless power, exacted the most extravagant proofs of homage and submission. Her ambition, unsatiated by personal honours, required for its gratification the aggrandizement of her offspring, and to this her projects uniformly tended. Upon her two sons, Tiberius and Drusus, the chief offices and employments were lavished; by them the armies were commanded, and their services, exaggerated by the emissaries of Livia, were recompensed with costly triumphs.

Tiberius united to great qualities atrocious vices; while Drusus, to the courage and talents of his brother, added a conduct the most amiable and exemplary: it was even believed that he would be called to the succession, from the esteem manifested for him by the emperor. Marcellus, nephew and son-in-law to Augustus, and presumptive heir to the crown, yielded not in merit to the sons of Livia, who, with their mother, regarded his claims with a jealous eye. But his death, in the flower of his age, an event not unattended with suspicious circumstances, removed this formidable obstacle to the ambitious projects of the empress.

Augustus, sensibly affected by the fate of his nephew, experienced, not long after, a new subject of anxiety in a conspiracy against his life and power, formed by Cinna, grandson to Pompey, who had engaged to his party several of the most considerable among the Roman citizens. The plot was however betrayed by one of the conspirators. Alarmed at the magnitude of the danger he had escaped, and perplexed respecting the conduct it would be proper to pursue, the emperor hesitated between the peril of provoking by severity a new revolt, or of giving by clemency future impunity. In this state of suspense, rest fled from him, while he became a prey to the most cruel disquietude. Livia, who had shared in his prosperity, afforded him in the season of his distress consolation and sympathy. She reminded him that accidents of this nature were but the consequences of his distinguished fortunes; that glory and success must invariably be pursued by envy; that it was not possible for a prince, however wise and equitable, to give universal satisfaction; that the great, who held it

as their privilege to make unlimited demands, would suffer no denials; that by refusals even the common people were irritated; and that in all governments malecontents were to be found, who by changes hoped to advance their interests. To these arguments she added exhortations, conjuring him to banish his apprehensions, to double his personal guards, and to set the conspirators at defiance.

The emperor in reply to her reasonings, insisted on the danger of trusting the officers of his palace, even those who boasted loudest of their loyalty and zeal. Against a foreign and open enemy, it was, he alleged, not difficult to guard; but against bosom traitors there were no measures of safety, but in rigour and extirpation. Livia combated, with equal eloquence and success, these sanguinary notions. Having described the true policy of a magnanimous conduct, and the advantages to be derived from clemency, she illustrated her principles by a comparison between physical and moral maladies, for both of which, she averred, gentle alteratives were rather to be chosen than caustics and corrosives. With admirable precision she distinguished and marked the different shades and gradations of guilt, to which she added a lively picture of the desperation that might be produced by harsh measures, contrasted by the probable effects of a generous forbearance.

By the force of her reasoning and the graces of her manner, she triumphed over the determinations and soothed the anxiety of her husband. Cinna was summoned into the imperial presence, informed of the discovery that had been made, reminded by the emperor of the many services conferred upon him, and mildly reproached for his ingratitude. A confession of his guilt having by these measures been extorted, and a free pardon granted to him and his accomplices, he was appointed consul for the ensuing year. Shame and compunction, as the empress had forseen, produced on the minds of the conspirators the most salutary consequences: the magnanimity of Augustus effected what severity had vainly essayed, and gained him the hearts of the Roman people. Livia, whose counsels the emperor sought not to conceal, shared the popular benedictions, and confirmed her sway over the mind of her husband. For the advancement of her sons, her darling project, this influence was principally exerted.

The second marriage of Julia, the widow of Marcellus and daughter of the emperor, opposed, by the birth of two sons, the most formidable obstacle to the views of the empress. Solicitous to raise her sons to the chief posts in the empire, Livia had already procured for the elder the place of tribune; the younger had also been promoted to the consulate, when his death gave to the heart of a mother, and to the ambition of a queen, a sensible shock.

Previous to this event a triumph had been decreed to the elder; who, after subduing Illyria, had subjected the Germans, who were beginning to revolt from the yoke of Augustus. No expense was spared by the empress to do honour to the victories of her son, in commemoration of which a magnificent temple, dedicated to Concord, was erected on the capitol, in which an altar was raised, by the direction of the empress, and consecrated to Augustus: a piece of crystal, weighing fifty pounds, was among the rich and curious materials by which it was adorned; also a basin of gold, containing a root of cinnamon, of considerable magnitude, from which a liquid distilled in drops, and gradually hardened into a substance.

Similar honours were meditated by Livia to Drusus her younger son, whose achievements in the field had covered him with glory, when, amidst the splendid preparations for his reception, the news of his death reached Rome, and converted into funeral dirges the songs of triumph.

Having struck terror throughout Germany, he had carried his victorious arms to the banks of the Rhine, which he was preparing to pass when death stopped his career. In an age of fable, when the marvellous mingled with every event, it was reported that a spectre, in the form of a woman, had appeared to the conqueror, by the side of the river, and, sternly reproving his ambition, informed him that his victories and his life had already reached their latest period.

The empress was, by the death of her son, overwhelmed with affliction, which philosophy in vain essayed to allay. To alleviate the sorrows of their queen, the senate complimented her with the privilege granted by the laws to the mother of three children. Augustus, whom the merit and virtues of Drusus had sincerely attached, shared in the grief of his wife, whose hopes now centred wholly in Tiberius.

As the emperor advanced in life, Livia employed all her interest to prepare the way for the succession of her elder son. The ascendency which by her talents, and by her arts, she had acquired over the heart of her husband, appeared to be boundless: she succeeded in every attempt, yet she used no violence; her measures, though little scrupulous, were politic and secret. The untimely death of the children of Julia, grandsons to Augustus, and heirs to the empire, seemed to awaken, in the minds of the nation, some suspicions: the elder expired suddenly at Marseilles; the younger at Lycia, on his return from the war of Armenia, where he had received a wound from an unknown hand. A posthumous son of Julia only remained, whom Augustus adopted in conjunction with Tiberius, and shared the empire between them.

Livia, dissatisfied by an arrangement which gave to her son a divided power, omitted no opportunity, by plausible insinuations, to alienate the heart of the emperor from Agrippa, his grandson, and finally to procure his exile to the isle of Planasia. This measure produced murmurs among the people; distrust was also excited in the mind of Augustus, who, with grief and surprise, reflected too late on the misfortunes of his family. In the first emotions of a vain repentance, he determined to visit in secret the banished prince, with whose tears, on their meeting, he mingled his own. This interview was confided but to one person, Fabius Maximus, who, unable to keep the secret from Martia, his wife, it was by her imparted to the empress.

Livia, in whose heart a fatal jealousy rankled, reproached her husband, on his return, with his conduct; lamented the loss of his confidence, and the odious light in which his distrust must place her with his successor. Maximus informed of what had passed, and incapable of supporting the resentment of a master whose secret he had betrayed, resolved to avert, by a voluntary death, the disgrace which seemed to await him. On his return home, having reproached his wife with her indiscretion, and related to her its consequences, he declared his resolution not to survive the loss of the emperor's favour. 'It is I,' replied she, 'that am the guilty person, it is therefore just that I should expiate my imprudence.' Having thus spoke, she plunged instantly a dagger into her breast, and Maximus, in despair, followed her example.

The death of Augustus, which took place shortly after this catastrophe, prevented his grandson from benefiting by the change in his sentiments. Even this event passed not without conjectures; it was rumoured, that the fate of the emperor had been precipitated by poisoned figs, presented to him by the empress. Surmises thus atrocious ought not to be lightly admitted: the temper of the times, and the envy which pursues exalted stations, are sufficient to account for their origin: a heart susceptible as that of Livia's to maternal tenderness, could scarcely be insensible to the claims of conjugal affection: the confidence and tenderness displayed by Augustus towards her in his last moments, when he charged her never to forget their union, renders her guilt but little probable.

The decease of the emperor was for a time kept secret, Tiberius being absent from Rome: on his arrival, his accession, with the declaration of the death of his predecessor, took place together. Livia appeared inconsolable for the loss of her husband, to whose memory she paid every honour: she sought to persuade the people that he had been more than mortal, and procured for him the *apotheosis*, a ceremony by which the names of illustrious persons were placed among those of the gods. In compliment to the empress upon this occasion, Atticus, a senator, swore that he beheld the spirit of Augustus ascending towards the heavens: for this ridiculous perjury he received from Livia a magnificent present. Temples and altars were raised to the new deity, to whom priests and priestesses were consecrated: among the latter the empress was herself enrolled.

By the will of Augustus, Livia was associated with her son in the government, and adopted into the family of the Julii, whence she assumed the name of Julia.

The new reign was commenced by a sanguinary act: Livia had not forgotten her distrust of the exiled prince, who expiated by his death the crime of being an impediment in the way of her ambition. The tragedy was imputed to the commands of the dying emperor, and a detestable duplicity added to cruelty. The empress had, notwithstanding her guilt, acquired by her address an unlimited power over the minds of the people, who confirmed to her the appellation of *Mother of her country*, while they proposed to add to the titles of Tiberius, that of

The Son of Livia, implying that he derived new glory in his illustrious mother. It was even designed that, by a novel privilege, an altar of adoption should be dedicated to the empress. But Tiberius, affecting moderation, and jealous of her power, declined these honours, nor would suffer the household of his mother to receive any augmentation. Livia, whose soul ambition inflamed, unable to suppress her indignation at this conduct in a son who owed to her his elevation, made him bitter reproaches, which served but to draw on herself other mortifications.

An incident occurred soon after by which her haughty spirit was severely humbled: her favourite, Urgulania, a Roman lady, had received the loan of a sum of money from Piso, a senator: the lady refusing to acknowledge her debt, Piso, had recourse to the authority of the prætor, who cited the favourite to appear before him. Secure of the protection of the empress, and intoxicated with pride, Urgulania refused to obey, and insulting the laws of her country, obliged the prætor to come and take her depositions, while, at the moment when it was proper for her to appear before the magistrate, neglecting the summons, she repaired to the palace. The empress justified the contumacy of her favourite, and inveighed against the senator, whose behaviour she construed into disrespect towards herself. Tiberius, in this conjuncture, affected to take part with the fair offender, against her uncourteous creditor, but suffered his interference to be obstructed by so many delays, that Livia, to avert the mortification of seeing judgment passed against her favourite, was constrained to pay to Piso the sum demanded. Nor was this the only occasion in which she experienced the neglect of a son, for whose advancement she had steeped her soul in crimes.

Farilia, grand-niece to Augustus, had grossly calumniated both the emperor and his mother: she was also accused of tainting the blood of the Cæsars by a licentious life. The charges against her were heavy, and affected the honour of the throne: a severe punishment was accordingly expected to follow. Tiberius, when consulted by the senate on these accusations, replied coldly, 'That the penalty of the personal conduct of the delinquent (convicted of adultery) was already determined by the Julian law; that to what concerned himself

he was perfectly indifferent, nor would he have it made a crime to speak ill of him.' To that part of the accusation which respected Livia he made no immediate answer, excepting that which his countenance expressed, and, on the following day, he declared in the senate, that his mother passed by the slanders raised against her, nor would have them included in the accusation. This conduct, though in itself specious, and far from reflecting discredit upon Tiberius, seems on a comparison with his character, to have originated in his desire of repressing the pretensions of the empress, rather than in an honourable liberality.

Notwithstanding a behaviour thus humiliating, Livia, in securing to this favoured son a throne to which her intrigues had raised him, plunged deeper into guilt and blood. Those princes whose personal merit, or whose affinity to Augustus, gave them pretensions to the empire, were uniformly persecuted or exterminated. Among the most distinguished of these was Germanicus, grandson to the empress, son to Drusus and Antonia, a youth of great promise, distinguished for his civil and military capacity, esteemed for his virtues, his courage, and his magnanimity, adored by the army, and revered by the people. Agrippina, grand-daughter to Augustus, whom he had espoused, was not less beloved and respected by the nation. Conscious of worth, of superior powers of mind, of high birth, and unblemished reputation, she disdained to pay the homage extorted by Livia, to whose prosperous fortunes the venal herd crowded to sacrifice. Agrippina, with a noble pride, stood aloof, and refused the tribute exacted from her. A mortal hatred, from this circumstance, seized the bosom of the empress, in which, roused by jealousy, sentiments of vengeance secretly festered. The talents, the great qualities, and dangerous popularity of Germanicus, had not been overlooked by the emperor, who conspired with his mother to rid himself of a rival. Emissaries are seldom wanting to approve and assist the crimes of princes: Germanicus perished in Syria, where he held the command of the army, a victim to his merits, and the jealousy of a tyrant.

Solicitous to escape the abhorrence due to a crime thus atrocious, Tiberius, on receiving news of the catastrophe, affected all the marks of sorrow, an hypocrisy which cost him

little, and which as little availed him: his secret orders for the destruction of Germanicus had been seen in the hands of Piso, who administered poison to the prince, and who, in justification of himself, had even resolved to produce them in the senate.

Agrippina, collecting the ashes of her husband, and placing them in an urn, returned to Rome with the mournful deposit. The people went out to meet her, and, joining the cavalcade, mingled with hers their grief, while to the remains of their beloved hero they were scarcely restrained from paying divine honours. The emperor and his mother, on this solemn occasion, had not the temerity to appear: dreading the public indignation, and the discovery of their satisfaction in the success of their barbarous project, they immured themselves within the palace. Agrippina in vain solicited of the senate vengeance on her husband's murderers; whose cause was by Livia openly espoused. The triumph of Tiberius and his mother was complete: the cries of humanity were stifled by their authority, and the voice of justice silenced by their influence.

Livia, at the summit of an eminence to which her steps had been traced in blood, exacted and enjoyed a homage the most profound: the altars of the gods received a worship less fervent: new honours were lavished daily upon her: to her was allotted the high privilege of taking at the theatre a seat among the vestals. To have inquired into her pretensions to this dignity would have been no less imprudent than fruitless. The eyes of the vulgar were dazzled by her magnificent presents to the temples of the gods, more especially to that of Jerusalem, whither she sent vessels of gold, while her liberality was considered by the priests as an undoubted proof of her virtues.

Tiberius beheld with dissatisfaction the boundless ambition of his mother: fond of power, yet averse to pageantry, the ostentation of Livia inspired him with disgust: he dissembled nevertheless his vexations, till he perceived that the empress, not contented with the pomp of empire, grasped at the substance of absolute dominion. His displeasure was openly manifested on the dedication of a statue, near the theatre of Marcellus, to the memory of Augustus, whose name was preceded, in an inscription composed for the occasion, by that of Livia. Too indolent to assert his privileges, or unwilling to break with

his mother, this incident determined him on retiring from court, where he held only the shadow of sovereignty, to the island of Caprea, in which he abandoned himself to a dissolute life.

Livia, in the absence of her son, who had thus pusilanimously resigned the reins of government, held them with vigour and effect: she maintained to an advanced age her influence undiminished, and preserved through life the soundness and strength of an originally admirable constitution. She was accustomed to attribute the vigour of her health, perhaps erroneously, to the wine of Pezzino, and a preserved root* which she ate daily.

She was more than fourscore when she felt the approaches of death, an account of which was sent by express to the retirement of the emperor; but Tiberius, on various pretences, excused himself from paying the last duties to his mother.

The empress expired, after a long and prosperous life, and was interred in the mausoleum of Augustus: her funeral panegyric was pronounced by her grandson Caius Caligula. Honours, similar to those which had been paid to her when living, were decreed by the senate to her memory; but these Tiberius, under a pretence of moderation, absolutely prohibited; nor would he suffer the apotheosis to be granted to the manes of his mother.

Lives of the Roman empresses, by Monsieur de Serviez—Tacitus, &c.

DOROTHEA DUBOIS.

Dorothea Dubois, was the wife of a musician, and daughter to the earl of Anglesea, by Anne Sympson, who, disowned by the earl, declared herself to be his wife. Dorothea passed her life in indigence, and ineffectual claims for the recovery of her birth-right. She published her own story in a novel entitled "Theodora," two volumes, 1770. She also wrote a musical entertainment called "The Divorce," 4to, 1771. She died in Dublin, January, 1774.

* This root is mentioned by Pliny under the name of elicampane, or enula campana.

MARIÆ DUPRE.

MARIAE DUPRE, surnamed the *Cartésienne*, on account of her taste for the philosophy of Descartes, was the daughter of Jean Desmaretz de S. Sorlin, of the French academy, brother-in-law to Roland Desmaretz. The latter, a man of distinguished talents and learning, having remarked in his niece indications of a superior capacity, charged himself with her education. Mariæ made, under the direction of her uncle, a rapid progress in the languages and sciences. After the death of her preceptor, in 1653, she continued her studies, to which she devoted herself through life. She wrote and spoke both the ancient and modern languages with equal purity. She also cultivated poetry, and corresponded with the most learned men of her time. Several of her poems may be found in *Le Recueil de Vers choisis, par le P. Bonheurs.*

Dictionnaire Historique.

EBBA.

EBBA, abbess of the monastery of Coldingham, in Ireland, is celebrated for her courage and chastity. The Danes having ravaged the country with fire and sword, were approaching towards Coldingham, when Ebba persuaded her nuns to disfigure themselves by cutting off their noses and upper lips, that, thus exhibiting a spectacle of horror, they might be preserved from the brutal lust of the soldiery. To precept she added the example, which was immediately followed by the sisterhood. The barbarians, finding them in this terrible state, set fire to the monastery, and consumed in the flames these voluntary and respectable martyrs.

Dictionnaire Historique des Femmes Célébrées, &c.

EDESIE.

EDESIE, wife of the philosopher Hermias, was celebrated at Alexandria for her beauty, her talents, and her virtues. She

was beloved by her husband, adored by the poor, of whom she was the liberal benefactress, and respected and esteemed by the whole city. She became a widow, in which situation she remained, and ended her life at Athens, whither her reputation followed her.

Dictionaire Historique, &c.

EGEE.

EGEE, queen of the African Amazons, of whom it is related, that she passed from Lybia into Asia, with a powerful army, with which she made great ravages. Opposed by Laomedon, king of Troy, she set his power at defiance, and, charged with an immense booty, retook the way to her own country. In repassing the sea, she perished with her whole army.

Dictionnaire Historique.

ELEANOR.

ELEANOR, daughter of William duke of Guienne, was espoused, after the demise of her father, to Lewis VII. of France, and received as a dowry the provinces of Guienne and Poitou. This princess is thus described by the author of Anecdotes of the Queens of France: "Born in the year 1122, she was scarcely sixteen years of age at the death of the duke her father. Nature appeared to have showered upon her all her favours. To an elevated rank and rich possessions, she joined all the charms of finished beauty, and a figure the most captivating. Her eyes were the finest in the world, her mouth admirable, her aspect soft, and her air graceful. To natural talents she added polished manners, and a cultivated mind."

Lewis, among the other princes of christendom, caught the flame of enthusiasm from the preaching of St. Bernard, and determined to make a crusade to the Holy Land. In 1147 he set out on his expedition, accompanied by his queen, and an army of eighty thousand men. This enterprise, in which the flower of the nobility, with immense riches, were destroyed

and wasted, proved fatal to France. During their residence in the East, Lewis, whose temper was suspicious, and whose mind was weak, became jealous of the conduct of his wife, whom, notwithstanding the remonstrances and dissuasions of his wisest ministers, he determined to repudiate, and to restore to her the rich provinces which she had brought to him on their marriage. Sentence of divorce was accordingly pronounced, March 18th, 1152.

The 18th of the following May, Eleanor gave her hand to Henry, duke of Normandy, who by this union found himself in possession of a great part of France. The lustre and influence which he received from this acquisition, prepared the way for his accession to the throne of England.

If Eleanor gave umbrage to her first husband by her gallantries, she appears to have suffered, in her turn, the torments of jealousy, from the attachment of Henry to Rosamond Clifford. It is certain that she gave great disturbance to her husband by her jealousy, and by her political intrigues, but the story which is told respecting her vengeance on her rival, appears to have been fabulous.

Eleanor died at the advanced age of eighty-one, March 31st, 1204, at the monastery of Fontevrault, whither she had retired.

History of England—Dictionnaire Historique, &c.

ELIZABETH,

QUEEN OF ENGLAND.

If the question respecting the equality of the sexes was to be determined by an appeal to the characters of sovereign princes, the comparison is, in proportion, manifestly in favour of women, and that without having recourse to the trite and flippant observation, proved to have been ill founded, of male and female influence. Elizabeth of England affords a glorious example in truth of this position.

Daughter of Henry VIII., a capricious tyrant, and of the imprudent and unfortunate Anne Boleyn, Elizabeth was born at Greenwich, on the banks of the Thames, September 7th, 1533. Her infancy was unfortunate through the unhappy fate of her mother, but she was nevertheless educated with care

and attention: in her yet infant faculties her father had the discernment to perceive uncommon strength and promise. Lady Champernoun, an accomplished and excellent woman, was appointed by Henry governess to the young princess. It appears to have been the custom of the times to instruct young women in the learned languages; an admirable substitute for fashionable and frivolous acquisitions: habits of real study and application have a tendency to strengthen the faculties and discipline the imagination. Mr. William Grindal was Elizabeth's first classical tutor; with him she made a rapid progress: from other masters she received the rudiments of modern languages; and, at eleven years of age, translated out of French verse into English prose "*The Mirror of the Sinful Soul*," which she dedicated to Catherine Parr, sixth wife to Henry VIII. It is uncertain whether this early performance, dated December 31st, 1544, ever appeared in print; but the epistle dedicatory, and preface, are in the "*Sylloge Epistolarum*," &c., printed by Mr. Hearne, in his edition of "*T. Livii Fero-Juliensis.*" At twelve years of age, she translated from the English into Latin, French, and Italian, prayers and meditations, &c., collected from different authors, by Catherine, queen of England. These she dedicated to her father, December 30th, 1545. MS. in the royal library at Westminster. She also, about the same period, translated from the French "The Meditations of Margaret, Queen of Navarre, &c." published by Bale, 1548.

Mr. Ascham thus speaks of Elizabeth, in a letter to sir John Cheke: "It can scarcely be credited to what degree of skill in the Latin and Greek she might arrive, if she should proceed in that course of study wherein she hath begun by the guidance of Grindal." In 1548, she had the misfortune to lose her tutor, who died of the plague. At this time, it is observed by Camden,* that she was versed in the Latin, French, Spanish, and Italian tongues, had some knowledge of the Greek, was well skilled in music, and both sung and played with art and sweetness.

After the death of her father, her brother king Edward, who tenderly loved her, encouraged her in her studies and literary pursuits, while, without imposition or restraint, he left

* Introduction to Annals of Queen Elizabeth.

her to choose her own principles and preceptors. To supply the loss of her tutor, she addressed herself to the celebrated Roger Ascham, who, at her solicitation, left Cambridge, and consented to become her instructor. Under his tuition she resumed her studies with new ardour, and read, with attention and diligence, the ancient historians, philosophers, and orators. Mr. Ascham, in a letter to his friend Sturmius, dated from Greenwich, tells him, "That he enjoyed at court not less freedom and retirement for his studies, than he had done at the university; that he was then reading, with the princess, the orations of Æschines and Demosthenes *de Corona*, in Greek; and, that she understood at first sight, not only the force and propriety of the language, and the meaning of the orator, but the whole scheme of the laws, customs, and manners of the Athenians." On another occasion, "I teach her words," says he, "and she teaches me things. I teach her the tongues to speak, and her modest and maidenly looks teach me to act. For I think she is the best disposed in all Europe." By Dr. Grindal, professor of theology, she was initiated into the subtleties of polemic divinity, to which she gave assiduous application. She also studied the Scriptures, and performed the offices of religion with scrupulous devotion. Such, during the short reign of her brother, was the laudable and tranquil tenor of her life, and by these occupations and pursuits she was prepared for the great part which she was destined to act on the theatre of Europe.

In July, 1553, Mary, after the death of Edward, succeeded to the throne; and, having received from her sister many favours and testimonies of esteem, she treated her at first with a form of regard. But these fair appearances were of short duration: the jealousy and bigotry of Mary were soon displayed. Articles, calculated to ensnare Elizabeth, were devised and drawn up; and her person, upon mere surmise and affected distrust, seized, secured, and harassed from place to place. She was imprisoned, and harshly treated, even to the hazard of her life. Michael de Castlenau, in his Memoirs, declares, that he had frequently been told by Elizabeth, "That she was, by the queen's order, imprisoned, and in great danger of her life; and that her sister procured information against her, and accused her of being devoted to the interest of Henry II. of France,

and of holding with him a private correspondence. She likewise assured me," says he, "that her hopes of life were once so faint, that she made a request to her sister, in case she was to be beheaded, that it might be done after our way, and that an executioner for the purpose might be brought from France." Her sufferings were however mitigated by the interposition of Philip, the husband of Mary, whether from compassion or policy is uncertain: through his influence she was liberated from confinement, and treated with greater respect. In gratitude to Philip, she caused his portrait to be placed by her bedside (where it ever remained), and was accustomed to speak of him to her friends as her deliverer and preserver. His subsequent perfidy and cruelty failed to efface from her mind the remembrance of this service.

During the period of her persecution, when pressed by a priest to declare her opinion respecting the bodily presence of Christ in the sacrament, she warily replied to him in the following impromptu:

"'T was God the word that spake it,
He took the bread and brake it,
And what the word did make it,
That I believe and take it."

The reign, the bigotry, and the butchery of Mary, who, *to do God service*, amused herself by burning and torturing her people, lasted five years and four months. She died, fortunately for the nation, November 17th, 1558. A parliament had been assembled a few days previous to her death, to which the chancellor notified the event. "God save queen Elizabeth," resounded in joyful acclamations through both houses; while by the people a transport still more general and fervent was expressed.

The commencement of her reign was not less auspicious, than its duration was prosperous to the country and glorious to herself. It is observed by Bayle, that to say only that no woman reigned with more glory, would be saying little; "It must be added," says he, "that there have been but few great kings whose reigns are comparable to hers, it being the most beautiful period of English history."

Elizabeth when informed of the death of her sister, was at Hatfield, whence, after a few days, she proceeded to London,

through crowds of people, who contended with each other in testimonies of joy and attachment. On entering the Tower, she was affected with the comparison of her past and present situation; once a captive, exposed to the bigotry and malignity of her enemies; now a sovereign, triumphant over her adversaries, and the hope and joy of the nation. Falling on her knees, she expressed her gratitude to Heaven for the deliverance she had experienced from her persecutors, a deliverance, she declared, not less miraculous than that of Daniel from the den of lions. Her past injuries and hardships appear only to have been remembered in this act of grateful and pious adoration. With a magnanimity that did her honour, and a prudence that evinced her judgment, she threw a veil over every offence that had been committed against her, and received graciously and with affability the most virulent of her enemies. Even sir Harry Bennifield, the man to whose custody she had been committed, and who had treated her with great severity, never experienced, through the whole of her reign, any effects of her resentment. Yet, she gave not to every one an equal reception: among the bishops who came in a body to compliment her, she excepted Bonner, from whom she turned with marks of just horror and aversion.

After devoting to her domestic arrangements a few days, she gave notice to foreign courts of her accession to the throne; while to Philip, then resident in the low countries, she expressed her grateful remembrance of the protection which he had afforded to her, and her desire of preserving his friendship. Philip, who in this event, long foreseen, had meditated, by espousing Elizabeth, to obtain that power in England which his connexion with her sister had failed to procure for him, immediately dispatched orders to his ambassador in London, to make, in his name proposals of marriage to the queen, and to offer to procure from Rome a dispensation for the nuptials. Elizabeth hesitated not to decline this proposal; she was not ignorant of the aversion entertained by the nation, during the reign of her sister, to the Spanish alliance; nor that one cause of her own popularity was the prospect of its being freed, through her means, from a foreign yoke. She was also aware that, by marrying Philip, who stood in the same degree of affinity to her as did her father to Catherine of Arragon, she

should indirectly declare the illegitimacy of her own birth. The power of the Spanish monarchy might, it is true, support her title to the crown, but her spirit disdained a dependent and precarious dominion. Her answer to Philip was civil though evasive; it seemed not to deprive him of hope, since, on receiving it, he sent a messenger to Rome, to solicit a dispensation.

On the death of her sister, Elizabeth had, by her ambassador, signified her accession to the pope, whose precipitate temper, insolent reflections, and extravagant demands, determined her to persevere in the plan she had already secretly embraced. While, to conciliate the catholics, she retained in her cabinet eleven of her sister's counsellors, she took care to balance their power by adding to their number eight partizans of the protestant faith; among whom were sir Nicholas Bacon, whom she created lord keeper, and sir William Cecil, made secretary of state. With these gentlemen, more especially the latter, she deliberated respecting the practicability of restoring the reformed religion, and the means by which the enterprise might be effected. The greater part of the nation, she was told by Cecil, had, since the reign of her father, inclined to the reformation, though constrained to conceal their principles by the cruelties practised under the late reign. Her title to the throne he affirmed to be incompatible with subjection to the Roman pontiff, who could not, where he so inclined, either with consistency or safety, recal the sentence pronounced by two of his predecessors against the marriage of her mother; and, that even were she allowed to retain the crown, it must be on an unstable and humiliating footing.

These arguments, to which other considerations and reasonings were added, founded on policy, and on a knowledge of mankind, had their just weight with Elizabeth, and determined her to adopt the party which education and political wisdom equally inclined her to favour. Yet she wisely resolved to proceed gradually by safe and progressive steps. As symptoms of her future intentions, and with a view of encouraging the protestants, whom persecution had discouraged and depressed, she recalled all the exiles, and gave liberty to those who had, on account of their religion, been confined in pri-

son. On this occasion, a man named Rainsford told the queen, that he had a petition to present to her, in behalf of other prisoners, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. 'First,' replied Elizabeth, 'let me consult the prisoners themselves, and learn of them whether they desire that liberty which you demand for them.' She next proceeded to exert, in favour of the protestants, some acts of power, in consistency with the regal prerogatives of the age. Thus protected, the reformers, whom persecution had irritated rather than subdued, began in their turn to attack the Romanists, who repelled their insults with equal zeal and acrimony. To silence a contest thus pregnant with mischief, the queen issued a proclamation, inhibiting all preaching, without a special license: if, in some instances, she dispensed with this regulation, in favour of her own sect, she was careful to tolerate only the temperate and the wise. She also altered the religious service, and gave orders, that the Lord's prayer, the litany, the creed, and the gospels, should be read in the church in the vulgar tongue. Having published an injunction, that the practice in her own chapel should be considered as an example for the churches throughout her dominions, she forbade the elevation of the host in her presence, an innovation which, however trifling in appearance, teemed with important consequences.

The bishops, foreseeing in these measures the impending change, refused to officiate at her coronation; and it was not without difficulty that the bishop of Carlisle was at length prevailed upon to perform the ceremony. Amidst the joyful acclamations of her subjects, as she was conducted through London, a boy, personating Truth, let down from a triumphal arch, presented to her a copy of the Bible. She received the present graciously, placed it near her heart, and declared, that of all the costly testimonies of attachment given to her that day by the city, this was the most precious and acceptable. Elizabeth insinuated herself into the affections of her people by the most laudable arts: frank in her address, and, on all public occasions, affable, conciliating and easy of access, she apppeared delighted with the concourse that crowded around her; entered, without forgetting her dignity, into the pleasures and amusements of her subjects; and acquired a popularity unknown to her predecessors. Her youth, her graces, her pru-

dence, her fortitude, her talents, attracted the admiration of one sex, and afforded to the other a subject of pride and triumph. Individuals were captivated by her complacency, the public won by her services, while her authority, chastened by religion and law, appeared to be derived from its legitimate source, the choice and affections of the people.

Careful not to offend the nation by violent and impolitic exertions, Elizabeth, while she gave encouragement to the protestants, delayed any important changes till the parliament should assemble. The elections went against the catholics, who made no great struggle on the occasion, and both houses met disposed to gratify the queen. The session began with a declaration of her right to the throne; a recognition dictated by Elizabeth and her ministers, and expressed with a moderation that did credit to her magnanimity. She reflected not, on this occasion, on the memory of her father, or the birth of her deceased sister, by insisting on the validity of her mother's marriage, or repealing the act against her own legitimacy; satisfied with the general opinion, she disdained to found her title on any act of an assembly, whose caprice, instability, and iniquitous decisions, had covered it with a just contempt. She took possession of the throne as her birthright, insured to her by former deeds of the legislature of the kingdom.

The first bill brought into parliament as a trial of the disposition of the people, was for suppressing the monasteries lately erected, and restoring to the queen the tenths and first fruits. This point secured, the next was an attempt to annex the supremacy to the crown, by denominating the queen *Governess* of the church; a title which was to assure to her the same powers formerly exercised by her father and brother. This measure was, in the upper house, strenuously opposed by the bishops, who triumphed by their learning over the temporal peers. But the majority in both houses decided against them; an act by which the spiritual and ecclesiastical power was wholly vested in the crown. The queen was also empowered by a clause to name commissioners, either of the clergy or laity, as she should judge proper: and on this clause the court of ecclesiastical commission was afterwards founded. To deny the supremacy of the queen, incapacitated the offender from holding any office; for the first offence his goods and chattels

were to be the forfeit; the second subjected him to the penalty of a premunire; and the third was declared treason. These punishments, however rigorous, were less severe than those inflicted, in similar cases, during the preceding reigns. Other acts followed, by which the queen, with all her concern for religion, was enabled, after the example of other reformers, to commit depredations on the ecclesiastical revenues. The depression of the clergy exposed them to every injury, nor did the laity stop till they had impoverished the church. A public disputation was held during this session, in the presence of the lord-keeper Bacon, between the ministers of the protestant and catholic parties. The champions who defended the royal faith were of course triumphant, and their adversaries, being pronounced obstinate and refractory, were, in their turns, punished by imprisonment and confiscation. Where shall religious liberty be found, and when will mankind make the allowances they claim? Emboldened by success, the reformers ventured on the last important step, the abolition of the mass. Penalties were enacted against the dissidents, and those who absented themselves from the ordinances of the church. Thus, in one session, without tumult or active resistance, by the will of a young woman, whose title to the crown was liable to objection, was the whole system of national religion changed. Palsied by despotism, even the right of thinking, unalienable to the human mind, was yielded tamely, without a struggle.

Other sacrifices, yet more difficult, were made by the Commons, who imposed burthens on themselves to gratify the queen; nor did they in any instance depart, in their addresses to her, from the most respectful deference. They entreated her, with all humility, that she would make choice of a husband, to share with her the weight of government; a request which they hoped, from her sex and age, would not be displeasing or offensive. To this Elizabeth replied, that as their application was expressed in general terms, merely recommending marriage, without pretending to direct her choice, she could not be offended, or regard their wishes otherwise than as a new instance of their attachment towards her: but that any farther interposition respecting this subject, on their part, it would ill become them as subjects to make, or her, an independent princess, to endure. That even as a private

person, and exposed to great perils, she had declined such an engagement, which she regarded as an incumbrance; much more at present, when charged with the care of a great kingdom, devoted to the interests of religion, and to the happiness of her people, should she persevere in this sentiment. *England* was the husband which she had betrothed to her; Englishmen were her children; while employed in rearing and governing such a family, she could not deem herself sterile, or her life useless. Should she ever be induced to change her condition, her first care would be the welfare of her subjects: or should she rather choose to live and die unmarried, she doubted not but that Providence, seconded by their counsels and her own measures, would enable her to prevent disputes respecting the succession, and to secure to them a sovereign, who, perhaps, better than her own issue, would imitate her example in loving and cherishing the nation. She desired, for her own part, no higher character, nor fairer remembrance of her to be transmitted to posterity, than to have this inscription, when she should pay the debt of nature, engraven on her tomb: "Here lies queen Elizabeth, who lived and died a maiden queen."

The laws enacted by the parliament were, after its prorogation, put in execution without opposition. The liturgy was again introduced in the English language, and the oath of supremacy tendered to the clergy. The bishops, reduced by a sickly season to fourteen, refused, with the exception of the bishop of Landaff, a compliance with the act, and were in consequence degraded from their sees. Of the inferior clergy, throughout the kingdom, in which were nearly ten thousand parishes, only eight parish rectors, fifty prebendaries, fifteen heads of colleges, twelve archdeacons, and as many deans, sacrificed to their religious principles their benefices. To those in high stations, perseverance was a point of honour: upon the whole, the Romanists were, on this occasion, less rigid and conscientious, than the protestants had been under the former reign. If the catholic religion, by addressing itself to the senses, and mingling in the concerns of common life, catches the attention, and fixes itself in the habits of its votaries, the more refined and metaphysical system of the reformers, by teaching men to think, and rousing the independence of the

mind, gives, with an increase of knowledge, an increase of energy and firmness. While the Romanists supinely continued their ancient practices, the protestants, compelled to reason, animated by novelty, and irritated by persecution, became attached to their tenets in proportion as they were raised by them in their own estimation, and sacrificed without scruple to the dignity of freedom, and to the dawnings of a philosophical light. In proportion as their minds are enlightened, men acquire courage and fortitude.

The resemblance which the English liturgy still bore in its forms to the ancient service, tended to conciliate the catholics to the established religion, the only mode of worship which was now allowed. Elizabeth, had she consulted her own inclinations alone, would have retained yet more of the exterior of popery: she sacrificed to the prejudices of her party the pomp and magnificence which accorded with her taste. The privilege of separate assemblies, in particular cities, for the Romanists, was solicited by foreign princes, and refused by the queen, lest the national peace should be disturbed by the indulgence.

While the public religion was settling, negotiations for peace were carried on, and finally concluded, upon principles as equitable as the necessity of the times would admit. A peace with Scotland followed that with France, and a general tranquillity seemed to be restored to Europe.

But notwithstanding these flattering appearances, a ground of difference yet remained, which teemed with important consequences. The first two marriages of Henry VIII. were incompatible with each other: it was not possible that both could be valid; and to the second the objections were of greater force. The nuptials of Henry with Anne Boleyn, though ratified by the English parliament, had been opposed by the see of Rome. From this circumstance, the partizans of the catholic church denied Elizabeth's right of succession. The next heir to the crown was the queen of Scots, whom the dauphin of France had espoused: her plausible title, added to her connexions, rendered her a formidable rival to Elizabeth, against whom the king of France was secretly soliciting at Rome a bull of excommunication. Philip hitherto, from motives of interest rather than of friendship, had opposed these intrigues, but Philip had now espoused the princess Elizabeth of France.

The Guises, the relations of the queen of Scots, engaged the French monarch to support her claim. By their advice, she assumed, with her husband, the title and arms of England. It was in vain that the English ambassador complained of this affront; he received only evasive answers. Such was the foundation of the rivalry between these celebrated queens, which terminated not more fatally to the life of Mary, than to the glory and honour of Elizabeth. Alarmed at her danger, the queen determined if possible to incapacitate Henry* from fulfilling his projects; nor did the sudden death of that monarch, who was killed in a tournament at Paris, tend to allay her fears. His successor having assumed, with the sceptre of France, the title of king of England, she considered him and his queen as her mortal enemies. The situation of affairs in Scotland, in which the principles of the reformation had begun to take root, afforded to her an opportunity of avenging the insult offered to her, and providing for her own safety. An association or league had been formed among the Scots in support of protestantism against the established church; in contradistinction to which, the party who had stigmatised the Romanists with the denomination of the congregation of Satan, called themselves the *congregation of the Lord.* Mutual acts of violence and persecution had inflamed their mutual differences, and sowed the seeds of civil war. Hostilities soon commenced, and commissioners were in secret dispatched by the *congregation* to implore succours from England.

The council of Elizabeth yielded without difficulty to proposals that concurred with their views and interests. Cecil, in particular, represented to the queen, that an union between the crowns of Scotland and France, both hereditary, and both her enemies, could not fail of proving a pernicious circumstance, which every expedient should be employed to avert. To this he added other considerations not less weighty and plausible. The catholic party in England, so lately silenced, and irritated by recent innovation, afforded, he asserted, a just ground of fear; while a war with France, though the inevitable consequence of interfering in the Scottish affairs, he represented as but little formidable. The caution and economy of Elizabeth, assailed by this reasoning, and by a combination

* Henry II. king of France.

of powerful motives, gradually gave way, and she prepared to support the cause of the malecontents.

She equipped for this purpose a fleet of ships, and assembled an army at Berwick. The court of France, sensible of its danger, offered to Elizabeth, on condition that she interposed not in the affairs of Scotland, the immediate restitution of Calais. To this she replied, that she would never put in competition with the safety of her dominions, an inconsiderable fishing town. A treaty of mutual defence was accordingly concluded with the *congregation*. Six hostages were given by the Scots for the performance of the articles, when the English forces began their operations.

The French, in want of provisions, and unable to resist their enemies, whose numbers were continually reinforced, found themselves obliged to capitulate. It was stipulated, by plenipotentiaries who met at Edinburgh, that they should instantly evacuate the country; that Mary and Francis, the king and queen of France and Scotland, should thenceforth abstain from asuming the title, or bearing the arms of England. That farther satisfaction on this point, for the injury already done to Elizabeth, should be granted, &c. &c.

All Europe saw in this transaction, in which Elizabeth gave laws to France, the talents and vigour of her administration. Having discerned at a distance the gathering storm, she had by timely measures prevented its approach, nor had stopped till the business was brought to an issue. By exacting no improper conditions from the Scottish malecontents, she had secured their confidence, and formed with them an union which interest, religion, and gratitude, combined to render durable. The spirit and propriety of her conduct established her character, and fixed her authority. The subsequent measures of the Scotch reformers tended still more to cement their friendship with England; while, having become masters of the kingdom, they had a full opportunity for effecting their purpose. In the spirit of zeal and party human nature appears always nearly the same: these contenders for the rights of conscience waited only for the *power* of breaking on the heads of their oppressors the fetters under which they had themselves groaned. The same spirit of rage, or rather a virulence more embittered, the same bigotry, intolerance, and persecution,

actuated all their measures. A confiscation of goods, corporeal punishment, banishment, and the loss of life, were held over the heads of those who should presume to use the mass. It is curious to a reflecting mind to observe the facility with which, in a change of circumstances, we adopt and sanction those vices which have appeared in others so justly odious. Thus was the papal jurisdiction abolished in Scotland, and the presbytery substituted in its place.

Elizabeth was not long in perceiving, that, notwithstanding their past failures, the house of Guise were yet disposed to contest her title, and to subvert, if possible, her power. The king and queen of France, under their direction, refused to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh: nor did they show any disposition to satisfy the jealousy of Elizabeth respecting their assumption of her arms and title. Thus circumstanced, it was not without pleasure that she heard of the factions which shook the French government, and which threatened to overturn the power of the Guises. The death of the young king, of which Elizabeth determined to take advantage, was a new blow to the authority of the Guises. But though pleased to find the French monarch no longer a pretender to her crown, her danger was scarcely lessened by this event. The English catholics, a numerous body, were prejudiced in favour of Mary and her title; and now, when her succession no longer threatened the liberties of the kingdom, they adhered to her cause with new attachment: while in the union of England with Scotland, nothing but advantages appeared. Aware of these circumstances, Elizabeth gave orders to her ambassador to renew his application to Mary for her ratification of the Edinburgh treaty.

The queen of Scots, after the death of her husband, had desisted to wear the arms of England: nevertheless, at the suggestions of her ambitious uncles,* she refused to make a formal renunciation of her pretensions. Her situation having, at the same time, become, from various causes, uneasy in France, she determined on returning to her native country, and applied to Elizabeth for liberty to pass through her do-

* The Guises.

minions. To this application she received for answer, that, until she had ratified the treaty, she ought to expect no favour from a person whom she had so greatly injured. It is unnecessary here to enlarge on the affairs of Mary, which, in the life of that princess, are, in a subsequent part of this work, fully narrated. Suffice it to say, that, on her voyage to her native country, she escaped by means of a fog, a fleet equipped by Elizabeth for the purpose of intercepting her passage.

Mary, destitute of forces, surrounded by faction, and with scanty revenues, was desirous of preserving with England a good correspondence. For this purpose, she sent her secretary to London to solicit the friendship of the queen; and, as a cement of this friendship, to demand that, by a proclamation, or by an act of parliament, she should herself be declared successor to the English crown, to which she was the lineal heir. To this ill-timed request Elizabeth gave a negative, in which, reflecting on the late pretensions of Mary, and pointing out the hazards to which she might by such a measure be herself exposed, she concluded by an assurance of doing nothing that should, after her death, invalidate the claim of her rival. The views of Elizabeth were too prudent and judicious to render it probable that she would lightly depart from them: to remove all doubt, she offered so to explain to the queen of Scots the treaty of Edinburgh, that no suspicion should remain of its excluding her from her rights, while she once more required of her its ratification.

Mary agreed to this proposal, and to the resignation of all present pretensions, but still insisted as a preliminary, that Elizabeth should acknowledge her title to the succession. This concession the latter, jealous of her authority, and justly suspicious of the views of her rival, determined not to make; but without absolutely avowing this resolution, she contrived to evade the demand. Affairs continued in their former position, excepting that an appearance of cordiality was assumed by both queens. Elizabeth, having observed that Mary was sufficiently oppressed and occupied by the factious disposition of her subjects, forbore any present interference, and employed herself more laudably in promoting the welfare of her people.

She made some progress in paying the debts which pressed

heavily upon the crown, and in regulating the coin, which had been debased by her predecessors. She furnished her arsenals with arms from abroad; engaged the nobility and gentry to imitate her example; introduced into the kingdom the arts of making gun-powder and brass cannon; fortified her frontiers towards Scotland; made frequent reviews of the militia; encouraged agriculture, by allowing corn to be freely exported; promoted trade and navigation, and restored the naval force. These useful enterprises she was, by the frugality of her temper, the better enabled to effect: her conduct exhibited to Europe the happy consequence of a vigorous perseverance in well-conducted measures.

The reputation which she acquired, added to the flourishing state of her affairs, procured her various offers of marriage, notwithstanding her declared preference of a single life. The archduke Charles, second son to the emperor, and Casimir, son to the elector palatine, who had made profession of the reformed religion, were among the number of her suitors. Eric king of Sweden, and Adolph duke of Holstein, made the same proposals. The earl of Arran, heir to the crown of Scotland, was also, by the states of that kingdom, recommended to her in marriage; while several of the English nobles, though they forebore openly to profess their pretensions, secretly aspired to her hand. The earl of Arundel, although declining in years, flattered himself with success, from his great riches, and the antiquity of his family; as did likewise sir William Pickering, a man esteemed for his personal merit. But lord Robert Dudley (a younger son of the late duke of Northumberland,) a nobleman of specious qualities and address, was the declared favourite of the queen. The less worthy this man appeared of the distinction which he had obtained, the more was his favour ascribed to a partial affection, which had seduced the judgment of this sagacious princess. Elizabeth gave to all her suitors a gentle refusal, without absolutely discouraging their hopes. A mixture of coquetry and policy appeared to influence her conduct, while in her own mind, she determined never to divide her power. Yet with this resolution her averseness to name a successor still continued in its original force. She even carried this jealousy so far as to endeavour to prevent those who had any claims to the crown from continuing the succession.

After Henry VIII. had excluded by will the posterity of Margaret the late queen of Scotland, the crown devolved to the house of Suffolk, of which the lady Catherine Gray was the only remaining heir. This lady had been married to lord Herbert, and afterwards divorced from him, when she had privately given her hand to the earl of Hertford who, soon after this event travelled into France. His wife in a short time shewed symptoms of pregnancy, when Elizabeth enraged threw her into the Tower, and summoned the earl to answer for his misdemeanor. On his appearance, he unhesitatingly acknowledged his marriage: a connexion which, though without the consent of the queen, was equally suitable to both parties. For this offence he also was committed to prison: nor did the severity of Elizabeth stop here: she issued a commission to investigate the affair; and, on finding that Hertford could not within the time limited prove his nuptials by witnesses, declared their commerce unlawful, and their posterity illegitimate. The unfortunate couple were still held in durance; but, by bribing their keepers, they found means to meet; of which intercourse a second child was the consequence. This circumstance was to the queen a source of fresh vexation, which she determined to avenge on the culprits. A fine of fifteen thousand pounds was, by the star-chamber, imposed upon Hertford, and his confinement rendered more rigidly severe. He remained in this situation, a victim to an odious despotism, for nine years; till the death of his wife, by freeing the queen from her fears, procured the widower his freedom.

By another incident, about the same period, the character of Elizabeth is exhibited in a fairer light. Some gentlemen were brought to trial for conspiring to withdraw into France, with a view of aiding the cause of Mary. They confessed the charge, but declared that their project was not to have been executed till after the decease of the queen, which some astrologers had predicted was to happen within the year. They were justly condemned by the jury, but received a pardon from the clemency of the sovereign.

After the commencement of the religious wars in France, which for near forty years deluged the kingdom in blood, England and Spain were the great rival powers of Europe; between the sovereigns of which an animosity, first political,

then personal, broke out. An accident had contributed to inflame the bigotry of Philip. Having escaped, on a voyage, a violent tempest, he threw himself on his knees, on his arrival in the harbour, and vowed to the God of mercy, that a life, thus saved by his providence, should be devoted for the future to the extirpation of heresy. Nor did his subsequent conduct prove him perjured. In his zeal for the faith he spared neither age, sex, nor condition. Not less politic than intolerant, by placing himself at the head of the catholic party, he converted the zealots of the ancient church into partizans of the Spanish greatness; and, by the powerful allurement of religion, seduced from their allegiance the subjects of the neighbouring nations.

Circumstances had placed Elizabeth in an opposite situation, and rendered her the bulwark of the protestant party. More moderate than Philip, her principles less severe, and having no object but self-preservation, she joined her interests in all foreign negotiations, to guard from ruin the persecuted and the oppressed. The dread of uniting England with the French monarchy, had, during the reigns of the two preceding monarchs, engaged Philip to maintain a friendship with Elizabeth; yet, even at this period, his conduct accorded not with his professions, which were uniformly hollow and deceptive. The death of Francis II. the husband of Mary, by putting an end to the fears of Philip regarding her succession, encouraged him to avow more openly his enmity to Elizabeth. Thenceforth, in every negotiation, the interests of Spain and England were found to be opposite. Jealous of the progress which the huguenots had made in France, and dreading lest the contagion should spread itself farther, Philip sent to the catholic party assistance in men and money; while the protestants implored the support of England. Various motives, both of sound policy and interest, combined to incline Elizabeth to comply with their request. Impoverished by the expenses incurred on this occasion, the queen found it necessary to summon a parliament, a measure to which she always appeared averse. A short time before the legislature assembled, she was seized with the small-pox, and her life for many days was in great peril. The equivocal situation in which the people found themselves, aggravated their fears on this occasion. The uncertainty respecting the succession, and the factions which

divided the nation, and which the spirit of Elizabeth had only held in awe, appeared to threaten the most terrible consequences. Thus circumstanced, the Commons, on the opening of the session, voted an address to the queen, reminding her of the contentions between the houses of York and Lancaster, and the miseries which attended a doubtful title. They entreated her to choose a husband, that, by giving to them an heir, their apprehensions might be relieved; humbly promising, gratefully to receive, and faithfully to serve, the man whom she should approve and select. Or, in case her averseness to the married state should still continue, they prayed her to name the person who should succeed to the crown.

This subject, however interesting to the nation, was offensive to the queen, whom it involved in perplexity and chagrin. She dreaded, by declaring in favour of the queen of Scots, whose title to the throne was founded on hereditary right, to encourage the hopes of the catholics, a dormant but formidable party. The pretensions which Mary had already made rendered her a still more formidable rival. Her favour with the catholic princes, her relation to the house of Guise, and the vicinity of her kingdom, increased the danger. When fortified by the prospect of the succession, she saw no security against the immediate revival of those claims, which she had never been prevailed on formally to relinquish. The title of the house of Suffolk, though supported by the zealous protestants, was yet more exceptionable: the republican part of the constitution was insufficient to overthrow the ideas of hereditary right: even a declaration of the parliament on such a subject, would scarcely give validity to the act, or satisfy the minds of the nation. These inconveniences, with their probable consequences, induced Elizabeth to persevere in her ambiguous conduct, that both parties might be held in awe and suspense. She therefore made to the Commons an evasive reply; nor could they prevail on her to be more explicit. She had, she told them, not absolutely resolved against marriage: but the difficulties which involved the question of the succession were so great, that she felt contented, for the sake of her people, to remain some time longer "in this vale of misery;" nor should she depart with satisfaction, till she had laid some solid foundation for their future security.

The most remarkable law which passed this session, was the act of *Assurance of the Queen's royal power over all states and subjects within her dominions.* By this act the asserting, either by word, by writing, or by deed, the authority of the pope, was subjected to the penalties of treason. All persons in clerical orders, or admitted to any degree, either in the universities, or in common law; all schoolmasters, officers in court, or members of parliament, were bound to take the oath of supremacy. The penalty of their second refusal was treason: a rigorous statute, and an odious persecution, which scrutinized into men's bosoms and thoughts. A law was also passed against "fantastical prophecies," which had been observed to seduce the people into tumults and disorders; while, with an inconsistent superstition, they also enacted a statute against witchcraft and magic, crimes which never exist where they are treated with contempt. After having granted a subsidy to the queen, the parliament was prorogued.

About this period, 1563, Elizabeth, having settled the affairs of the kingdom, resumed her studies (which had suffered an interruption), under the direction of Mr. Ascham. "It is a shame," says her preceptor, addressing the young gentlemen of England, "that one maid should go beyond you all in excellency of learning, and knowledge of divers tongues. Point forth six of the best given gentlemen of this court, and all they put together, show not so much good-will, spend not so much time, bestow not so many hours, daily, orderly, and constantly, for the increase of learning and knowledge, as doth the queen's majesty herself. Yea, I believe, that besides her perfect readiness in Latin, Italian, French, and Spanish, she read there, at Windsor, more Greek every day, than some prebendaries of that church did read Latin in a whole week. And that which is most praise-worthy of all, within the walls of her privy-chamber, she has obtained that singularity of learning, to understand, speak, and write, both wittily with head, and fair with hand, as scarce one or two rare wits in both the universities had in many years reached unto."

Many testimonies are given, by learned men, to the erudition of Elizabeth. We are informed by the celebrated Scaliger, that she spoke five languages, and knew more than all the great men then living. She caused sir John Fortescue, who

was an excellent classic scholar, to read to her the Greek and Latin authors, Thucydides, Xenophon, and Polybius; also Euripides, Æschines, and Sophocles. In return for his services, she made him master of her wardrobe, and chancellor and under-treasurer of the exchequer. It is observed by Mr. Bohun, that she perused Cicero, Pliny, and Livy, till she became mistress of a regular, beautiful, pure, unmixed, and "truly princely style:" that she spake and wrote with facility and elegance. She was particularly fond of the Latin language, which she studied carefully and grammatically. She was also versed in the history of Livy, the annals of Tacitus, the acts of Tiberius, and the works of Seneca. She studied civil polity, moral philosophy, physics, and political economy. Plato and Aristotle were likewise familiar to her. The Cyrus of Xenophon was her favourite work. She held the last mentioned author in great esteem, and translated one of his dialogues into English. In the Gentleman's Magazine, Lond. Oct. 1743, is printed an English translation, by Elizabeth, of "*A Dialogue out of Xenophon, in Greek, between Hiero, a king, yet some tyme a privat person, and Simonides a poet, as teaching the liffe of the prince and privat man.*" She likewise translated, out of Greek into Latin, two orations of Isocrates.

In 1564 Elizabeth went to Cambridge, where she continued five days in the apartments of the provost of King's college. Comedies, tragedies, orations, disputations, and other academical exercises, were performed for her entertainment. She visited, severally, every house, and at her departure took leave of the university with a Latin oration, which may be seen by the curious in the second volume of Hollinshed's Chronicle, or in Fuller's History of Cambridge. In 1566 she also visited Oxford, where she was received with academical honours. As Dr. Humphrey, who was at the head of the puritan party, drew near to kiss her hand, which she held out to the orator and doctor, 'Mr. Doctor,' said she addressing him with a smile, 'that loose gown becomes you mighty well; I wonder your notions should be so narrow.' She was entertained seven days by the university, and appeared greatly delighted with their public exercises. On the sixth day she expressed her satisfaction in a Latin oration, as at Cambridge. On the day succeeding to that on which she had taken her leave, she was

conducted by the heads of houses to the limits of their jurisdiction. At parting, Mr. Roger Marbeck, in an oration, spoke of the difficulties under which learning had formerly laboured, of the encouragement which it had of late received, and the prospect of its rising, under her majesty's administration, to the height of splendor. The queen heard him with pleasure, and returned him a favourable answer. Casting her eyes back to Oxford, with marks of affection, she bade the gentlemen farewel. About this time, it is supposed, she wrote her comment upon Plato. It is said of her, by sir Henry Savil and Mr. Camden, that all her leisure hours were devoted to her books and her pen. We are assured by Moreri, that she was skilled in mathematics. It is certain that she showed great favour to Dr. John Dee, a distinguished mathematician and astronomer, whom she frequently consulted, and whom she twice visited at Mortlake in Surrey. We are informed by the doctor himself, that she became his patroness and his scholar. He likewise tells us, that the queen took pleasure to hear his opinion of the comet appearing in 1577. Many illustrious examples were produced in the universities by the liberality and countenance of Elizabeth. She was also skilful in music, both in the theory and practice. "Her reign," says professor Ward, in his Life of Dr. Bull, "brought forth a noble birth, as of all learned men, so of church-music. She was not merely a lover of music, but skilled in it herself." Nor was she without a taste for poetry, its sister art, as we learn from a work entitled "*The Art of English Poetry;*" where Elizabeth is ranked high among English poets; neither was she less happy in her Latin compositions. Her extempore answer to the Spanish ambassador, before the intended invasion, 1588, is well known.

In 1563, the English troops brought from France (where, till weakened by disease, they had taken and defended Havre against the whole power of the French monarchy) the plague, which made great ravages throughout the kingdom, especially in London, in which above twenty thousand persons perished in one year. This circumstance produced an accommodation between the contending powers. Peace also still continued with Scotland, and even a cordial friendship appeared to be cemented between the two queens. They maintained an ami-

cable and frequent correspondence by letters, adopting the title and style of sisters. Elizabeth punished a man who had published a book against the title of Mary; and expressed against the lord-keeper Bacon, who was thought to have encouraged him, great displeasure. It had been agreed between her and Mary, in the foregoing summer, to have an interview at York, for the purpose of ratifying the treaty of Edinburgh, and considering of proper means for settling the English succession. The wars in France were pleaded by Elizabeth as a pretext for failing in this engagement, which she desired might be deferred till the ensuing year. It is thought that Elizabeth's jealousy of the beauty and address of Mary, which were likely to make partizans in the English court, afforded one motive, and that not the least powerful, for delaying the interview. The connexion of Mary with the house of Guise, and her devotion to her uncles, were just grounds of distrust to her sister queen, to whom they were mortal and declared enemies. They had offered their niece with a view of strengthening their interest, to several foreign princes, and were ready to bestow her on any one who was likely to give umbrage or disturbance to Elizabeth; who, on her part, was not less solicitous to frustrate their plans. She exerted herself more especially to prevent the queen of Scots from forming any alliance which might tempt her to revive her pretensions to the English crown. Under this apprehension, she frankly informed her, that she could only be satisfied by her espousing some English nobleman, who might cement the union between the two kingdoms. On this condition and on this only, she offered to have her title examined, and to declare her right to the succession.

Having thus spoken in general terms, she named to her, after a twelvemonth's deliberation, the earl of Leicester, lord Robert Dudley, as the person on whom she desired her choice should fall. This nobleman, the avowed favourite of Elizabeth, added to a fine person and insinuating manners a polite and elegant address. His accomplishments and external graces concealed from the penetration of Elizabeth the defects and vices of his character. Proud, insolent, selfish, ambitious, without honour, humanity, or generosity, he possessed not even talents or courage to entitle him to the confidence of his sovereign. Her constant and declared attachment to him em-

boldened him to aspire to her hand. To remove every obstacle to his wishes, he was universally believed to have been guilty of the murder of his wife, with circumstances of aggravated barbarity. The proposal of espousing Mary, which he ascribed to the contrivance of Cecil, his avowed enemy, was by no means acceptable to Dudley, who justly dreaded that it was secretly intended he should, by the temerity of his pretensions, offend the pride of one queen, and rouse the jealousy of the other. Elizabeth, who indeed was not serious in this proposal, named Leicester, on the presumption that he would not be accepted, and that she should by this means gain time, and elude the project of any other alliance. Her partiality to Leicester would not suffer her to part from him; and when Mary, allured by the prospect of the succession, seemed to listen to the offer, Elizabeth receded, and withdrew the bait. This duplicity, joined to some expressions of imperious superiority, drew from the queen of Scots a peevish letter, which interrupted their apparently amicable correspondence.

In consequence of this breach, sir James Melvil, a man of address, was dispatched by Mary to London, with directions to insinuate himself into the confidence of the queen. He succeeded but two well for the glory of Elizabeth, whom his vivacity and familiarity threw off her guard. He attacked the *woman*, in which the queen for a time appeared wholly sunk. He talked to her of his travels, of the habits of the ladies of different countries, and their particular advantages in displaying the beauty of the person. Elizabeth informed him that she possessed the dresses of every nation, in which she failed not successively to appear to him. The artful Melvil, to whose taste she applied to know which dress became her most, answered the Italian (a reply which he knew would be agreeable), since it displayed her flowing locks; which, though of a red colour, rather than of a yellow, he had remarked that she fancied to be the finest in the world. With feminine weakness, she asked him what was reputed the most beautiful colour for hair; and whether hers or his queen's was the finest. She even degraded her dignity to inquire, which he esteemed the fairest person; a delicate and dangerous question, which he subtlely contrived to elude. Her majesty, he artfully replied, was the fairest lady in England, as was his mistress in Scotland. She

next demanded which of them was the tallest, and was told the queen of Scots. 'Then,' answered she, 'she is too tall, for I, myself, am of a just stature.' Having learned from him, that Mary amused herself by playing on the harpsichord, an instrument on which Elizabeth excelled, she gave orders to lord Hunsdon to lead Melvil, as if casually, into an apartment where he might hear her performance. Ravished with the harmony, he broke into the room, and incurred the affected displeasure of the queen; who, notwithstanding her anger, took care to inquire of him, whether herself or Mary was the better performer. From observations made on these circumstances, and the whole tenor of her behaviour, Melvil, on his return, warned his mistress to expect from the queen no real friendship.

These foibles of Elizabeth doubtless threw over her great qualities a shade; but before *men* presume to triumph, let them call to mind how, in their own conduct and behaviour towards woman, they lay a *necessary* foundation for her anxiety to be thought possessed of external advantages and frivolous accomplishments. The desire of distinction, of pleasing, of being beloved, in itself so natural and laudable, the foundation of the social virtues, and of the sympathetic affections, will, with certainty, direct the mind towards those acquisitions and attainments, which may best promote so valuable an end. While men are voluptuous, weak, and unjust, women will be vain, envious, and trifling. A little reflection and philosophy would on this, as on most subjects, teach us candor and forbearance. The sexes, reciprocally, by their errors, their vices, and their prejudices, corrupt and debase each other. Mutual sarcasm may embitter, but mutual wisdom only can reform.

The reader is, to avoid a repetition, again referred to the life of the queen of Scots. Elizabeth, though she would rather have kept Mary single, was not displeased with the marriage projected between her and Darnley, by which she was relieved from the dread of a foreign alliance, and the necessity of parting with her favourite, lord Leicester. Yet even here she persevered in her former duplicity. While she secretly desired Mary to invite the father of Darnley into Scotland (whence he had been exiled by the power of the house of Hamilton), to reverse his attainder, and restore him to his honours, she openly blamed her conduct, with a view of preserving the friendship of the Hamiltons.

On his first application, she gave leave to the young man to follow his father to Scotland: but, on his probable success with the queen, inveighed against the marriage; ordered Darnley, on his allegiance; to return into England; threw his mother, with her second son, into the Tower, where they suffered a rigorous confinement; and seized on all their English estates. Without one single reason being assigned for her displeasure, she protested, menaced, and complained, as if she had suffered a grievous injury. The policy of Elizabeth, on this occasion, however sagacious, was full of artifice and of contradiction, and altogether unworthy a great mind. All the glories of her reign are insufficient to efface the stain thrown on her character by her behaviour towards the queen of Scots. So many motives, both important and mean, entered into her jealousy against Mary, that she dared not, even to her minister, or to her own heart, avow with sincerity the reasons of her conduct. The anger which she at present affected, served, among other purposes, as a pretence for refusing to acknowledge the title of the Scottish queen to the succession; an acknowledgment which she had determined never to make. It also answered an end still more unfriendly, that of encouraging the discontents of the ecclesiastics and nobles. But when, by her countenance, they had appeared in arms against their queen, and failed in the rebellion they sought to excite, Elizabeth disavowed her connexion with them, and carried her dissimulation and hypocrisy to extravagant lengths. She even seduced their agents, by secret promises of protection, to declare, before the ambassadors of France and Spain, that she had been guiltless in the insurrection. Having extorted from them this confession, she drove them from her presence as traitors, declared that their conduct deserved the reprobation of all princes, and that thenceforth they must hope nothing from her favour. Throgmorton, her ambassador, a man of honour and ability, who had been employed in her name to promise support to the malecontents, and even to transmit to them money, that they might be enabled to effect their purposes, aware of the character of his mistress, had the precaution to obtain an order of council to authorise him in the performance of his mission.

On the birth of a son to the Scottish queen, sir James Melvil was dispatched to London with the important intelligence.

On the evening of his arrival, Elizabeth had, at Greenwich, given a ball to her court, in which she appeared with spirit and cheerfulness. The birth of the prince having been announced to her, a sudden cloud overshadowed her countenance; she reclined her head on her arm, sunk into melancholy, and complained to some of her attendants, 'That the queen of Scots was mother of a fair son, while she was but a barren stock.' But on the ensuing day she recollected her dignity and resumed her dissimulation, received Melvil with apparent joy, thanked him for bringing her news so agreeable, and expressed for her *sister* the most cordial friendship. She dispatched, soon after, some noblemen to officiate at the baptism of the infant, and sent by them magnificent presents to its mother.

This event gave to the friends of Mary in England additional zeal; while all parties cried aloud for a settlement of the succession. In a new parliament, held after six prorogations, this subject was more vehemently discussed. The house of Peers, which had hitherto forborne so delicate a point, now took the lead. The Commons followed the example. It was proposed that the question of the succession and supply should go hand in hand, as if to constrain the sovereign compliance. The courtiers, by talking of the queen's intention to marry, in vain endeavoured to elude the subject: the character and ambition of Elizabeth were too well known for this assertion to obtain credit. Nothing was obtained by it, except that the house, for the sake of decency, should join to the question of the settlement that of the queen's marriage. They were proceeding with great earnestness in this business, when express orders were brought them from Elizabeth, to go on no farther; while Cecil pledged to them the word of a queen for her sincerity in her intentions to change her condition. To this he added a representation of the danger that would be incurred to the queen's person by naming a successor; a notion which he enforced by argument and example. The house was little satisfied with his reasoning, and less with the prohibition they had received. Paul Wentworth, a spirited member, questioned whether such a prohibition was not an infringement of their privileges: an intimation which, in those times, merited praise for its boldness. The profound respect which had been hitherto observed towards Elizabeth, was violated on this occasion: it was affirmed, that she was bound in duty, not merely

to provide during her life for the happiness of her people, but also to regard their future security by fixing on a successor. That, by a contrary conduct, she would show herself the step-mother rather than the natural parent of her subjects, and would appear earnest that the glory of England should terminate with her own authority. Only timid princes; tyrants, and faint-hearted women, it was boldly added, ever stood in fear of those who were to succeed them. The affections of the people, they nobly observed, were an impregnable rampart to the monarch, who, laying aside all artifice or sinister ends, had courage and magnanimity to put his trust in that sure and honourable defence.

The queen, informed of the unusual spirit displayed in these debates, sent for the speaker, reiterated her prohibition, and told him to declare to the house, that if any member yet remained unsatisfied, he might appear before the privy-council, and there give his reasons. The house, notwithstanding these orders, still showing a disposition to proceed upon the question, Elizabeth, by a message, thought proper to revoke them, and to allow of liberty of debate. Softened by this polite condescension, they conducted themselves with greater complaisance, and even voted a supply without the annexed condition. Parliament was soon after dissolved, but not without receiving from the queen a severe reprimand. Elizabeth, as she had not chosen to yield to the request of the parliament, remitted a third of the subsidy which they had granted her, magnanimously declaring, 'that money in her subject's purses was as good as in her exchequer.'

The friends of the queen of Scots daily multiplied in England; many of which, beside the catholics, kept up with her a treasonable correspondence, and were ready to rise at her command. Even the court was full of her avowed partizans. The engaging manners of Mary, and her moderation towards the protestants, conciliated every one; while any imprudences into which she had fallen, were ascribed to her youth, her sex, and inexperience. This sentiment, it is probable, was heightened by the injurious conduct of her rival. Candor, liberality, and integrity, in states, in bodies, and in individuals, must always prove ultimately the truest policy. The subsequent conduct of Mary blasted her popularity, and precipitated her ruin.

Elizabeth, after the final overthrow of the unfortunate queen of Scots, seemed touched with real compassion: fear no longer giving activity to her jealousy, she reflected on the instability of human affairs, and of regal greatness; she perceived the danger of encouraging a nation to revolt, and resolved to employ her power to alleviate the calamities of her fallen sister queen. For this purpose, she sent her ambassador to Scotland, to remonstrate with Mary and the associated lords. Her instructions to him on this occasion, though not without lofty pretensions, were replete with good sense, and with those generous sentiments which the circumstances of the times had called forth. She expressed her reprobation of the late conduct of the unfortunate Mary, yet mingled these expressions with pity and concern. She assured her of her determination of supporting her against her rebellious subjects (a common cause of kings); of employing her good offices to redeem her from captivity; and of placing her in a condition at once compatible with her own dignity and the safety of her people. She exhorted her to lay aside all thoughts of vengeance, unless against the murderers of her husband; beseeching her, for her own honour and safety, not to oppose so just and reasonable a demand. She concluded with entreating her, after her own deliverance was provided for, and the punishment of her husband's assassins, to consider the safety of her infant son, which no expedient could be so proper to secure, as the sending him to England for his education.

The remonstrances which the ambassador was to make to the associated lords were in entire conformity to these sentiments, and to the establishment of the regal prerogative. They were told, that it belonged not to them to reform, much less to punish, the mal-administration of princes. That the only arms which, in such a case, could be lawfully employed, were entreaties, counsels, and representations. That, these expedients failing, they were to appeal to Heaven, and patiently wait till the Almighty, in whose hands are the hearts of princes, should be pleased to turn them to justice and mercy. This doctrine, she averred, was essential to the preservation of civil society, and ought to be received in every well-governed state. She required them to restore their queen to liberty, on which condition she promised them her services. She sent to them,

beside remonstrances, articles of accommodation, as expedients for the settlement of public affairs. These articles, though including considerable restraints on the sovereign power, were, upon the whole, favourable to the cause of the captive queen. The associated lords, fearful that Mary would take encouragement from the protection of so powerful a rival, refused the ambassador access to her person. Throgmorton* advised mild measures; and, while he promised that his mistress would be guarantee for the performance of the articles, threatened her vengeance if they proceeded to extremities. He also warned them not to draw on themselves by their violence that reproach which they laid on their queen. But his arguments and remonstrances proved unsuccessful. The preachers, deriving their maxims from the rigorous examples in the Old Testament, aggravated and inflamed the rage of the people. Throgmorton had orders to refuse his assistance at the coronation of the young prince.

When Elizabeth received information of the queen's escape, she discovered the same friendly dispositions. If, during her captivity, she had forborne to rescue her by force she had been withheld by fear of urging her enemies to extremities: but she had proposed to the court of France an expedient less violent, and more effectual for her deliverance; that the two countries should unite to cut off all commerce with the Scots, till they should agree to redress the grievances of their unfortunate queen. She now dispatched Leighton into Scotland to her assistance: but, apprehensive of the entrance of French troops into the kingdom, she requested that the difference between Mary and the nation might be referred wholly to her arbitration, and that no foreign succours might be suffered to enter Scotland. Elizabeth had not time to prove the sincerity of her kindness; a decisive battle took place immediately, and the party of Mary was entirely dispersed. In this calamitous state she fled southward, and, with a few attendants, reached the borders of England, where she determined to seek an asylum. From Cumberland she dis-

* The ambassador.

patched a messenger to London, craving the protection and aid of the queen.

Thus circumstanced, it became necessary for Elizabeth to decide respecting her conduct towards her rival, so unexpectedly thrown into her power. A generous and magnanimous behaviour would, on this occasion, have immortalized her fame; yet, in justice to Elizabeth, it ought to be remembered, that such were her first sentiments, till by the sagacious Cecil she was induced to suspend these laudable feelings, and duly to weigh the *policy* of the case. It is indeed to be regretted, if sound policy be really incompatible with generosity and justice, a position which we should do well to doubt. In pursuance of the advice of her minister, whose arguments were probable and specious, Elizabeth resolved to veil, under a friendly exterior, the utmost circumspection. She dispatched orders to lady Scroope, sister to the duke of Norfolk, to attend upon Mary, who had taken shelter in her neighbourhood. She soon after sent to her lord Scroope himself, warden of the marches, and sir Francis Knolles, vice-chamberlain. They found her already lodged in the castle of Carlisle, and informed her, after expressing the queen's sympathy with her misfortunes, that, till she had cleared herself of the murder of her husband, with which she was charged, Elizabeth could not, without dishonour to herself, admit her to her presence. Mary burst into tears at this check, and, yielding to the necessity of her situation, agreed to submit her cause to the arbitration of so good a friend.

Elizabeth, on this concession, which she had expected and desired, dispatched Midlemore to the regent of Scotland, whom she required to desist from prosecuting the queen's party, and to send persons to London to justify his conduct. Murray,* however startled at this imperious message, forgot not the importance of England to his cause, and determined not to provoke the anger of its queen, from whom he was at least certain of having an equitable hearing. He would himself, he replied, attended by commissioners, repair to England, and cheerfully submit his claims to the determination of Elizabeth.

* The regent

The fluctuations of lord Herries, the ambassador of Mary, who perceived, when too late, that she had advanced too far, proved a reluctance to the measures pursued by the English court. It required all the management of Elizabeth to hold the queen of Scots to her first agreement. She pretended, that as a friend only she wished to hear her justification; nor would she, she declared, without the consent and approbation of Mary, enter into the discussion. She was confident, she added, that no difficulty would be found in refuting the calumnies of her enemies; and, even should her apology fall short of conviction, she was determined to support her cause, and to procure for her reasonable terms of accommodation. She assured her, that it was never meant to cite her to a trial on the accusations of her rebellious subjects, but, on the contrary, that they should be summoned to appear, and justify themselves for their conduct towards their queen.

Mary, soothed by these expressions, agreed to what was demanded of her. In the mean time, under pretence of guarding her, she was detained a close prisoner; while the issue of the contest between her and the Scotch nation, was daily regarded by Elizabeth and her ministers as more critical and momentous.

The duke of Norfolk, the earl of Sussex, and sir Ralph Sadler, were appointed by the English court to the examination of the cause, and York was named as the place of conference. Persons were also chosen as commissioners for the queen of Scots. From Scotland the regent, with several noblemen and ecclesiastics, were likewise summoned to attend. That she should be thus chosen umpire between the factions of a rival kingdom, was undoubtedly to the glory of Elizabeth; nor was her fortune less rare in having at her disposal a woman from whose pretensions she had long been a sufferer. It is to be wished, that, on such an occasion, she had risen superior to selfish passions, and done greater honour to her sex and human nature. But we are not authorised, either from history or observation, to believe, that, in similar circumstances, and with the same powers, an individual of the other sex, whatever may be its high pretensions, would with greater magnanimity have triumphed over personal interest.

The professions of impartiality made by Elizabeth were

open and frequent; and it is certain that she was accused on each side of leaning to the cause of the other. She appears, by her instructions, to have had, at the time, no decided plan: whatever issue the business should take, her advantages, she was aware, must be important. Should the crimes of Mary be ascertained, she might detain her for ever a captive in England: should she be acquitted, it was proposed to restore her to the throne with such limitations as should leave Elizabeth perpetual arbiter between her and her people, and render her in effect mistress of the kingdom.

The cause at first appeared likely to terminate in favour of Mary: her commissioners had boasted, that Elizabeth was determined, at all events, to restore the princess to the throne: the regent dreading from appearances lest this might be true, suppressed some evidence that might have rendered an accommodation afterwards impracticable. In this perplexity, he privately visited the English commissioners, confessed his scruples, laid before them the reserved evidence, and requested security, should it upon trial fail in giving complete satisfaction. Norfolk, secretly a favourer of Mary, was not displeased with the regent's fears, which he failed not to augment and aggravate. He was, nevertheless, obliged to transmit to court the questions proposed to him.

Elizabeth, from these queries, began to suspect that a conclusion might be brought to pass decisive and advantageous beyond her hopes; she determined therefore to bring the business into a clearer light. For this purpose, she ordered the conferences to be removed to London, and continued at Hampton-court; and, on the arrival of the commissioners, added to them the most considerable members of her council, among whom was secretary Cecil. It was now that the queen gave to the demands of the regent a satisfactory answer, declaring, though she wished to have the innocence of Mary proved, yet, on the contrary, should she be found guilty of the murder of her husband, she must be for ever deemed unworthy of the throne. Thus encouraged, the regent brought forward more fully his charge, accusing Mary of consent and participation in the assassination of the king. The earl of Lenox,

also, the father of Darnley, implored vengeance for the murder of his son.*

The commissioners of Mary refused to answer to the charge brought against her, and sought to turn the conferences into a negotiation, still insisting that Elizabeth should settle the terms of accommodation. The business, at length, was finally broken off.

Elizabeth, solicitous to persuade the world of the equity of her proceedings, resolved that the communications which she had received from the regent should be revealed to the most eminent persons of her court. Having ordered her privy-council to be assembled, to render the affair more solemn and authentic, she added to its number several other noblemen. The proceedings of the English commissioners were here read; and the evidence produced by the regent examined. A number of letters written by Mary to Elizabeth were produced, and the characters compared with those delivered in by Murray,† as proofs of her guilt. Elizabeth, after the whole had been investigated, declared that, as she had at first judged it improper that Mary should be admitted to her presence, while crimes of so deep a dye were alleged against her, and before she had in some measure cleared herself from the charge, so now, when so many documents seemed to confirm her guilt, evidences to which she had refused to reply, she felt herself necessitated to persevere in her resolution. She then, having called in the commissioners of the queen of Scots, observed to them, that she could not but think it would appear more decent for their mistress to continue the conferences, than to demand the liberty of a personal interview. That she might, however, send her reply by any one whom she could trust, or she might herself deliver it to some English nobleman, whom Elizabeth would appoint to wait on her for that purpose. But as to her resolution of remaining silent, she should regard it as a confession of guilt, nor could those be her friends who should advise her to such a procedure.

Murray having observed to Elizabeth, that, as the conferences were ended, his detention in England, by which his

* The reader is again referred, to prevent repetition, to the life of the queen of Scots.

† The regent.

affairs were prejudiced, could answer no good purpose, she suffered him to depart, and granted him a loan of five thousand pounds for the expenses of his journey. But notwithstanding this, and some other marks of favour which she privately gave to the regent, she declined to treat with him in his official capacity, or to acknowledge the young king of Scotland. Elizabeth trusted to her address for the management of the captive queen, with whom she wished not absolutely to break: her design was, by perpetual negotiation to keep her amused with hopes of an accommodation, and to trust to circumstances to elude a conclusion.

Elizabeth renewed the treaty of marriage with the archduke Charles; but, as she insisted on rigorous terms, refused him all power and title, and even the exercise of his religion in England, the affair came to nothing.

The progress of the reformation in England had been distinguished by moderation; Elizabeth, as has before been observed, had a taste for the splendor of the Roman church, in favour of which still more weighty considerations combined to incline her. The more zealous among the protestants had added to their zeal for religion other sentiments of innovation, which could not fail of proving offensive to a despotic sovereign. Their minds having, by an emancipation from the absurdities of popery, acquired a habit of activity, they carried into political subjects their daring spirit of inquiry, and began to investigate the principles of civil liberty; speculations but little compatible with the present state of the regal prerogative. Few sovereigns that had preceded Elizabeth, and not one who came after her, carried the authority of the crown, both practical and theoretical, to so great a height. The doctrine of resisting, or of restraining principles, preached by the puritans,* must of course draw upon them her resentment. Though countenanced by some of her most favoured ministers, among whom were Cecil and Leicester, Elizabeth could never be reconciled either to their principles or practice. The present year, 1568, was the period when they began to grow considerable in England.

The duke of Norfolk, who, among the English peers, held

* So were these sectaries called, from their greater pretensions to purity of worship and discipline.

the highest rank, and who had, both by his personal virtues and hereditary advantages, acquired the greatest popularity and influence, was, by these very advantages, ensnared to his ruin. His grandfather and father were the leaders of the catholic party; he had himself adopted the principles of the reformers, among whom he had been carefully educated: from these circumstances he enjoyed the singular happiness of being esteemed by both parties. His alliances by blood procured the friendship of the catholics, while the qualities of his mind had endeared him to the protestants. Being a widower, and of an age suited to espouse the queen of Scots, the idea of such an alliance had occurred to their mutual friends: even Murray, before his departure from Scotland, had suggested the union, as likely to be acceptable to both factions, and the best project for composing the differences by which the kingdom was rent. To bind still farther the interest of the duke, it was proposed to marry his daughter to the young king of Scotland. But to these measures it was regarded as essential, that the consent of Elizabeth should be previously gained.

The sincerity of the regent on this occasion is doubtful, as he had temporary purposes to answer by the proposal. The duke, notwithstanding his agreement to consult Elizabeth, had just cause for apprehension that she would never yield her voluntary assent: he therefore first sought to obtain the consent and approbation of the most considerable among the nobles. Even Leicester, the declared favourite of Elizabeth, appeared cordially to espouse his interests; while several motives combined to produce among the nobility a general combination in his favour.

Cecil, the most active and prudent minister ever known in England, and entirely devoted to the queen, acquired daily more pre-eminence and influence. Always cool and unimpassioned himself, he checked the caprices of Elizabeth, and seldom failed, by perseverance, to convince her judgment. His credit with his mistress exposed him to the envy of the other counsellors, and as he was supposed, respecting the question of the succession, to favour the interests of the house of Suffolk, his enemies were led to attach themselves to that of the queen of Scots. Elizabeth saw, without dissatisfaction, this jealousy among her courtiers, which served to strengthen her

own authority. Without giving him unlimited confidence, she failed not to support Cecil against his adversaries.

Norfolk, afraid of the counsels of Cecil, continued in secret, to strengthen his interest. A letter, signed by many of the nobility, was written by Leicester to Mary, recommending to her Norfolk for a husband, and stipulating conditions for the advantage of both nations. The duke, on receiving to this application a favourable reply, employed himself with new ardour in the execution of his project. The kings of France and Spain, who were secretly consulted, had also expressed their approbation of the plan. Though the consent of Elizabeth was spoken of as a previous condition, it was evidently the intention of Norfolk to defer to request it, till the strength of his party should enforce the application.

This conspiracy was too extensive to have escaped the vigilance of Cecil and the queen. Elizabeth gave several hints to the duke, sufficient to inform him of her acquaintance with his designs, while she warned him frequently to beware on what pillow he reposed his head. Still he wanted prudence or courage to open to her his intentions. Intelligence of what was going forward was given to her first by Leicester, and then by Murray, whose interest, whether sincere or not in his favour to Norfolk, would not suffer him to give offence to the queen.

The court was alarmed by these intrigues, which other circumstances combined to render dangerous. Among the gentlemen who appeared to enter into the designs of Norfolk, were many zealous catholics, who carried their views yet farther, and who would gladly, by the aid of foreign powers, have placed Mary upon the English throne. Various motives, both of duty and of interest, induced Norfolk to discourage this idea; he was guilty but by halves, and of course took undecisive measures. In order to suppress the rumours spread against him, he affected to speak to Elizabeth with contempt of the Scotch alliance; but finding that this duplicity failed to impose upon her, he retired to his country seat without taking leave. Having repented of this measure, he set out soon after on his return to court, with a design of reinstating himself in the favour of the queen, but was arrested on the road, and afterwards committed to the Tower, when he was examined

before the privy-council, and confronted with the ambassador of the queen of Scots.

Measures for a rebellion, of which Norfolk was innocent, had indeed been taken by the earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland, and precipitated by the discovery of the conspiracy. But Elizabeth, who, from her prudent and able administration, had acquired the good will of her people, a monarch's best and sure defence, and for whose service even the catholics in most counties expressed a zeal, was not negligent in defending herself. The duke of Norfolk, from his confinement, did all in his power to prove his loyalty, by promoting levies among his retainers and friends. The insurgents were dispersed without a blow; the leaders fled into Scotland; and the common people retired to their houses.

This rash rebellion was followed by another, still more imprudent, which was suppressed with little difficulty.

Elizabeth found herself so well satisfied with the behaviour of Norfolk, that she released him from the Tower, allowed him to live under some show of restraint at his own house, and merely exacted from him a promise to proceed no farther in his pretensions to the queen of Scots. She now experienced those consequences from the detention of Mary which she had at first foreseen, and perceived, that so long as she detained her a captive, she had little tranquillity to expect. But these inconveniences appeared to her less dangerous and more supportable than the giving liberty to her prisoner, and thus enabling her to solicit in foreign countries the assistance of the catholic princes. She determined therefore to support the measures she had adopted, and to guard by prudence against the mischiefs to which they might expose her. Still flattering Mary with hopes of her protection, she continued to maintain an ambiguous conduct; and, while perpetually negotiating, with constant professions of friendship, the terms of her restoration, by her duplicity and artifice she preserved her from despair. The French and Spanish ambassadors were amused in a similar manner, and their solicitations and menaces evaded. Mary, on her part, acted with the same disingenuousness; and, under the exterior of confidence and friendship, their mutual animosity was daily strengthened. In capacity, activity,

address, and spirit, these rival princesses were nearly on a level, but the balance of power and discretion rested solely with Elizabeth.

The two queens addressed at the same time letters to the regent of Scotland, to whom Elizabeth gave the choice of three conditions: either that he should restore to Mary her dignity, on certain terms; that she should be associated with her son, and, till he came of age, the administration remain in the hands of the regent; or that Mary should be allowed, as a private person, to live at liberty in Scotland, and enjoy an honourable settlement. Murray, having summoned a convention to deliberate on these proposals, declared, that the last only could become the subject of a treaty. In proposing conditions thus unequal, Elizabeth appeared to invite the Scots to a refusal of those most favourable to their queen; and, by the difficulty of adjusting the terms of that which remained, conclusions were drawn of her insincerity in all.

It is asserted that Elizabeth, to rid herself of a formidable and dangerous prisoner, had negotiated to deliver her into the hands of the regent; a project which was frustrated by his sudden death. Murray fell by the hands of an assassin, in revenge for a private injury. On this event Scotland relapsed into its former anarchy; while Elizabeth, under pretence of chastising the ravages committed by the borderers, supported with an army the party of the young king, but without openly declaring against his mother.

She carried her hypocrisy yet farther, by a request, which implied a command, to the enemies of Mary, not to elect, during some time, a regent in the place of Murray. Lenox, the king's grandfather, was accordingly chosen merely as a temporary governor. But on the partizans of Mary suffering the leaders of the insurrection, who had taken shelter in Scotland, to escape into Flanders, instead of delivering them up to the English government, Elizabeth permitted Lenox to assume the title of regent. Still she persevered in her machiavelian politics, and kept up an appearance of amity with her captive. Twice, through the importunity of the bishop of Ross and the foreign ambassadors, she checked the progress of the regent, who was likely to gain an advantage over the opposite faction. By this conduct she kept alive in Scotland party ani-

mosity, and rendered the country a scene of desolation. Such have been the boasted and glorious maxims of politicians, compared with the enormous consequences of which, private immoralities, however atrocious, appear as nothing in the scale, or sink into venial insignificant errors. Elizabeth, without the stimulus of interest, or even of vain-glory, without a wish to conquer Scotland, hesitated not to involve it in misery and blood, merely to preserve the semblance of neutrality, and to keep up with Mary fair appearances, of which however no one was the dupe.

New terms* of accommodation were proposed to the captive queen, which from their severity appeared to be sincere. To these the necessity of her affairs compelled her to assent. The catholic princes likewise approved of her conduct; the civil wars which agitated Europe having incapacitated them from giving her aid. The English commissioners also proposed to the queen a plan of accommodation with her subjects in Scotland; but, at the same time, Elizabeth took care, in conformity to the odious policy that influenced her conduct, that the party of the king should not be discouraged to sink too low in their demands. Cecil wrote to inform the regent, whom the rumours circulated by the adverse faction had alarmed, that the proposals of the queen of England, so far from being irrevocable, were to be discussed anew in a conference, to which he desired him to send commissioners attached to the cause of the king, who might cautiously avoid concessions to his prejudice. Other hints of the same nature, with assurances of security, were repeatedly given to the enemies of Mary.

The republican arguments which were on this occasion brought forward by the Scotch commissioners, were not perfectly palatable to Elizabeth, who was shocked that the indefeasible and divine right of sovereigns should be thus wantonly and profanely questioned. She informed the commissioners, that she was in no wise satisfied with their reasoning in favour of the conduct of their countrymen, and desired them to proceed to the conditions they had to offer. Their commission, they replied, did not empower them to treat of any terms detri-

* See life of the queen of Scots.

mental to the title of the young king; they therefore would gladly hear the proposals of her majesty. Elizabeth recommended to them an accommodation not disadvantageous to Mary; but the commissioners still declining to treat respecting her restoration, the conference necessarily ended.

Mary could no longer deceive herself respecting the sentiments of her rival; repeated disappointments served to exasperate her mind, and to excite her, at all hazards, to make efforts for her liberty and safety. An accident which took place about this time (1571) widened the breach between the two queens.

Pope Pius V., after having vainly endeavoured to conciliate the friendship of Elizabeth, issued against her a bull of excommunication, depriving her of all title to the crown, and absolving her subjects from their oath of allegiance. This bull was affixed to the gates of the bishop of London's palace by John Felton, who, with a courage worthy a better cause, disdaining either to fly or to deny the fact, was seized, and condemned to receive the crown of martyrdom, which he had thus appeared to court.

A new parliament, after an interval of five years, assembled at Westminster, over which the authority of the queen, as head of the protestant party, became, from the intemperate conduct of the pope, more absolute and uncontrollable. Yet, from an opposite cause, Elizabeth, during this session, experienced some little mortification. The light of philosophy had already faintly dawned, and the spirit of English liberty began to manifest itself. The lord-keeper Bacon, in the name of the queen, informed the parliament that they were not to intermeddle with affairs of state; by which the queen's marriage and the succession were probably meant: the subjects of peace, war, alliances, negotiations, and other important points of administration, were not in that period considered as questions in which the representatives of the nation were to be consulted. The puritans had, in a former session, introduced seven bills for a farther reformation in religion; all of which were thrown out. The commons had sat only a few days, when Strickland, one of its members, revived the bill for the amendment of the liturgy, in which his chief objection seems to have been to the sign of the cross in baptism. Elizabeth was, on the subject of religion, still more

jealous, if possible, than on that of the state. In quality of supreme head of the church, she conceived herself fully empowered to decide all questions that might arise, whether they regarded doctrine, worship, or discipline; nor would she allow of the interference of her parliaments. The courtiers supported her pretensions.

Elizabeth, offended by the presumption of Strickland, sent for him to the council, and forbade him thenceforth to take his seat in the commons. This was too much for the submission of the parliament, which asserted its privileges, and remonstrated in strong language.

The just and popular principles which were brought forward on this occasion were somewhat novel to the courtiers, who warned the house to greater caution, cited the practice of former reigns, and moved to stay all farther proceedings; a motion which was accordingly complied with. The queen, by this silence of the house, saved her honour, and, that the question might be no more resumed (repenting of the experiment she had made,) gave to Strickland, on the next day, permission to return to his seat. The commons, not discouraged, persevered in discussing the bills which regarded religion, till they were interrupted by measures yet more despotic, of which the lords stooped to be the instrument. The spirit which was manifested in this session, though no actual concessions were gained at the time, could not be unimportant in its consequences.

A motion made by Robert Bell, a puritan, against an exclusive patent granted to a company of Bristol merchants, also gave rise to a warm discussion, in which Peter Wentworth, a man of superior mind, sternly rebuked the servility of the courtiers; and recommended to the house a due care of their privileges; and of liberty of speech. Bell was sent for by the council, and, after a severe reprimand, returned terror-struck. His fears proved contagious: 'The queen will be offended!'—The council will be displeased!' was for some time afterwards, when any delicate point was touched, whispered through the house. The patent defended by Elizabeth with such imperial despotism, was for the profit of four courtiers, at the expense of the ruin of seven or eight thousand of her industrious subjects. At the conclusion of the session, her majesty reprimanded severely the faint

efforts, displayed only in *words*, that had been made for the dignity of man. 'Their audacious, arrogant, presumptuous folly, in thus interfering in matters no way belonging to them, and which lay not within the compass of their understanding, would,' it was hinted, 'since they cared not for admonition, be in future otherwise corrected.' Alas! for poor human nature!

These circumstances are in brief alluded to, as peculiarly characteristic of Elizabeth. Monopolies and exclusive companies had reached an enormous height, and were daily increasing, to the extinction of industry and the ruin of freedom: yet it was accounted criminal in the nominal legislator of the nation to propose for them any remedy. Elizabeth openly avowed her despotic maxims, without paying to liberty the tacit homage of varnishing them over by plausible pretences. Her arrogance was sanctioned by the principles of the times, and the popularity of her government remained undiminished. The puritans only cherished the seeds of liberty; the zeal of innovation inspired them with courage: enthusiasm hazards what wisdom shrinks from; and to this sect, absurd in many of its principles, and puerile in its habits, is Europe indebted for the rights of humanity.

Among the laws enacted this session, was one aimed at the queen of Scots. To maintain, either in writing or printing, that any person, excepting the *natural issue* of the queen, is, or ought to be, her heir or successor, subjected the maintainer, and all his abettors, for the first offence, to a year's imprisonment, and to the forfeiture of half his goods; and for the second offence, to the penalty of a premunire. A supply of one subsidy and two sixteenths was granted by parliament. Elizabeth, determined to yield none of her power, was cautious of asking supplies, either endeavouring to make her ordinary revenues suffice for her expenses, by a rigid attention to frugality, or supplying the defect by employing her prerogative in the ruinous expedients of granting patents and monopolies.

Notwithstanding thirteen years of public tranquillity, interrupted only by the ill-concerted insurrection of the north; notwithstanding her authority over her parliaments, and her extensive influence over her people, Elizabeth suffered excessive anxiety in feeling the throne perpetually shake under her. All Europe was in a state of civil discord, of which religion had been

the torch; and beneath the external prosperity of England lurked the same causes of division and commotion, though restrained for the present by the strong hand of power. The intrigues of the catholics, and the furious zeal of the sectaries, menaced the state in opposite directions. Elizabeth kept her attention on what was passing in France, where the Guises, her enemies, had risen to importance; while, solicitous for the fate of the Huguenots, whose interests were connected with her own, she assisted them in their resistance against the sovereign power, with supplies of men and money; though in thus acting she did violence to her principles.

France, which the obstinacy of the insurgents, and the exhausted state of the country, compelled at length to conciliatory measures, or rather to a cruel and perfidious policy, affected to court the friendship of England, and deceived even the jealousy and sagacity of Elizabeth. The better to carry on the deception, and lull the protestants into a fatal security, a treaty of marriage was negotiated between the queen of England and the duke of Anjou, a prince of the blood-royal of France, young, brave, and accomplished. Elizabeth, occupied on her side with a plan of deception, which laid her more open to the machinations of her enemies, affected to listen to this proposal. Terms of the contract were proposed; difficulties started and removed; and the two courts, equally insincere, seemed every hour drawing towards a conclusion. The affair of religion was the most difficult to adjust: Elizabeth, who had claimed toleration herself, refused, with a common inconsistency, to grant it to others; and the duke of Anjou blushed at the idea of incurring, for the sake of interest, the disgrace of apostacy. The artifices of Elizabeth were never so multiplied, nor so successfully exerted, as when connected with the spirit of coquetry: aware of her character in this respect, the French court was encouraged to offer and to concede. Political motives combined on this occasion to confirm Elizabeth in her evasions and manœuvres. The partizans of Mary were discouraged by the projected alliance; and the situation of the Low-countries, in which an attempt was made by Philip to extirpate protestantism, rendered vigilance and the appearance of strength highly necessary on the part of England.

Elizabeth gave protection to the Flemish exiles, who fled from persecution, and enriched the nation with new manufactures. She even ventured to commit an insult on their oppressors, by seizing as a loan a sum of money from the ships of some Genoese merchants, who had taken shelter in the English ports. The English merchants in the Low-countries were in their turn thrown into prison. These differences were afterwards accommodated; but the wound inflicted by so well-timed a blow on the Spanish government in Flanders, could not be healed.

To avenge themselves of her insults, the enemies of Elizabeth supported the pretensions of the queen of Scots, with whom they opened a secret intercourse. The catholic intrigues were managed by Rodolphi, a Florentine merchant, who, on the discovery of the duke of Norfolk's project, had been thrown into prison, but recovered his liberty from defect of proof. This man, zealous for the Romish faith, formed a plan in concert with the ambassador of Spain, for subverting, by a domestic insurrection, and a foreign invasion, the government of England. This project was by letter communicated to Mary, whose concurrence it received. To inspire the malecontents with courage, it was necessary to have a head, for which Norfolk appeared to be the most eligible person.

This nobleman had, on his liberation from the Tower, pledged his honour to drop all intercourse with Mary; but on finding the confidence of Elizabeth was not to be regained, he gradually resumed his former views. Impatience of inaction and restraint, which he still suffered in a degree, assisted to render him desperate. He renewed his correspondence with the captive queen; a reciprocal promise of marriage passed; and the duke, by degrees, while absorbed in visionary projects, lost sight of his remorses, and was allured to give his assent to the most criminal enterprises. Rodolphi wrote in his name to the pope and the king of Spain; and though Norfolk refused to put his signature to the letters, he suffered a confidential servant to vouch for their authenticity to the Spanish ambassador. A body of foreign troops were to be landed in England, where the duke was to join them with his friends: they were to march from the coast directly to London, and impose on the queen their own conditions. Rodolphi having received from

the ambassador a letter of credence, proceeded on his journey to Rome, whence he was to inform Norfolk of the progress of the undertaking.

The duke was still a traitor but by halves; struggling to impose on himself the persuasion, that the innocence of his intentions justified the violence of his measures, since he aimed only at obtaining the consent of Elizabeth to the liberty and marriage of the queen of Scots, he chose not to consider the consequences of the introduction of foreign troops, and the triumph of the catholic party.

The conspiracy was conducted with so much caution, that it had hitherto escaped the knowledge of Cecil and Elizabeth. Another attempt of Norfolk first gave the clue to a general discovery. Mary wished to have conveyed to her partizans in Scotland a certain sum of money, of which Norfolk undertook the safe conduct. The money in a bag was, with a letter, entrusted, under false pretences, to a servant not in the secret; who, suspecting from the weight of the bag that it was filled with gold, carried the letter to the minister. The secretary of the duke, and a confidential servant, were immediately arrested, and the truth extorted from them by torture. The secretary, though ordered to burn all the papers connected with the business, had concealed them under the mats in the duke's chamber, and under the tiles of the house. Full evidence therefore appeared against his master. Norfolk, ignorant of the discoveries that had been made, was brought before the council, charged with his guilt, and exhorted to atone for it by an ingenuous confession: but he persisted in repelling the accusation. The queen declared, that had he given her this proof of his sincerity and repentance, she would have pardoned all his former offences. On his obstinate refusal, he was committed to the Tower to take his trial. The ambassador of Mary, who was also taken into custody, was induced, after some difficulty, on being informed of the discoveries of Norfolk's servants, to make a full disclosure of the conspiracy. By this evidence, the guilt of the duke being unquestionably confirmed, a jury of twenty-five peers passed upon him an unanimous sentence.

Elizabeth yet hesitated respecting his execution, for which she twice signed and revoked a warrant: her ministers and

counsellors urged her to rigour; but still she either was, or affected to be, irresolute. A parliament was assembled, after four months of demurring, when the commons pressed the execution of the sentence; a sanction which, added to the certainty of the prisoner's guilt, justified in the eyes of the world the severity of the queen. Norfolk died with composure and constancy, denying any disloyal intention, yet justifying the sentence by which he suffered. The earl of Northumberland, the author of the former insurrection, being delivered up to the queen by the regent of Scotland, expiated, a few months afterwards, his temerity on the scaffold.

Elizabeth durst not yet proceed to extremities against Mary, the occasion or the prompter of all these disturbances: her rank as a sovereign princess, and her captivity, which seemed to justify every measure for escape, formed at present her security. The queen contented herself with sending commissioners to expostulate with her, and to require satisfaction for her misconduct. Mary either denied the facts imputed to her, or threw the blame on others; an apology which was little satisfactory; and which so incensed the parliament against her, that they ventured on a direct application for her trial and execution. Elizabeth, satisfied with showing Mary the disposition of the nation, sent to the house her express commands to forbear for the present the subject. Authorities derived from the Old Testament were, on this occasion, pressed into the service of a sanguinary resentment, and intemperately urged by the puritanical side of the house. To this sect, which the queen was far from favouring, she was not likely to make concessions.

Though disinclined to adopt the advice of her parliament against the captive queen, Elizabeth was greatly disquieted by the restless temper and extensive interest of Mary: she thought it necessary to render her confinement more strict, and to change her own conduct towards the kingdom of Scotland (which still remained in a state of anarchy), and exert herself for the party she had always favoured. The partizans of Mary, dispirited by the late transactions, were glad to submit to the king, and to accept an indemnity for past offences. A breach with the queen of Scots, who was no longer amused by the artifices of Elizabeth, was not now to be dreaded. The most

considerable of her adherents had laid down their arms; the castle of Edinburgh which alone held out, was subdued by the English troops; Scotland submitted to the regent; and one source of Elizabeth's disquietudes was thus effectually removed.

On the side of France, she had suffered herself to be deceived: pleased to find the Guises removed from authority, and to observe the daily growth of an animosity between the French and Spanish monarchs, she concluded with the former a defensive league; an alliance which she regarded as an invincible barrier to her throne. Her ambassador continued to send her accounts of the honour, the frankness, and the fidelity, of the cruel and perfidious Charles.* About this time (1572) took place the horrible massacre of St. Bartholomew; an action the atrocity of which has been scarcely paralleled, and never exceeded, in the annals of human crimes.

In order to cover this barbarous perfidy, it was pretended by Charles, that a conspiracy of the huguenots had been discovered, replete with the most dangerous consequences. His ambassador in England had orders to ask an audience of Elizabeth, and to give her an account of the transaction. The minister, a humane and honest man, abhorred the treachery and cruelty of his court; he even scrupled not to declare, that he blushed to bear the name of a Frenchman; he was however, obliged to comply with his orders, and to use the prescribed apology. From the courtiers he met, as the representative of his master, with the reception such a conduct justly merited: cold reserve, and silent sorrow, clouded every countenance. Through the chambers of the royal apartments all was still as the grave; every thing wore an air of the most profound grief. The courtiers and ladies, habited in deep mourning, were ranged on either side: not a single word, not a complacent glance, saluted him as he passed to audience. The queen received him with an air more serene, and concealed her indignation while she listened to his apology; to which she replied in terms of guarded but severe reprobation. Sensible of the perilous situation in which she stood, Elizabeth beheld in the massacre of Paris a general conspiracy for the extermination of the pro-

* Charles IX. of France.

testants, and herself, as their head: of this conspiracy the cruelties practised by the Spaniards in the Low-countries appeared but another branch. The two princes, Charles and Philip, allied in bigotry and in perfidy, had at length thrown off the mask, laid aside their pretended quarrel, and avowed a mutual amity. From such an union, and from such counsels, she had every thing to dread. The Guises also, her personal and political enemies, were received in the court of France with open arms. The queen of Scots, their near relation, pretended to the English throne, while her partizans, in the heart of the kingdom, were not more numerous than zealous. Determined by these motives, Elizabeth forebore an actual breach with France, while she still affected to listen to the professions of the French monarch; and even allowed the negotiations to be renewed for her marriage. She sent the earl of Worcester to assist, in her name, at the baptism of a princess born to Charles: but before she agreed to this condescension, she repeated her expressions of abhorrence of the Bartholomew tragedy. She prepared herself, in the mean time, for an attack from the combined catholic powers; fortified Portsmouth, put her fleet in order, exercised her militia, cultivated popularity, acted with vigour for the young king of Scotland, and renewed her alliances with the princes of Germany, who were not less alarmed than herself at the treacherous and sanguinary conduct adopted by their enemies.

In the resistance of the French huguenots, exasperated by their sufferings, and in the spirit which they stirred up through protestant Europe, Elizabeth perceived her greatest security. The sect which Charles had thought to destroy with a single blow, was already an army eighteen thousand strong, possessing, in various parts of the kingdom, above one hundred cities, castles, or fortresses. The nobility and gentry of England, roused by rage to enthusiasm, offered to levy an army, to transport it into France, and to maintain it six months at their own charge. Elizabeth, cautious in her measures, and dreading, by these dangerous crusades, to inflame the mutual animosity between the professors of the two religions, wisely moderated the zeal of her subjects. The German princes, with less prudence, or less policy, forwarded the levies made by the protestants. France relapsed into confusion, which was in

creased by the death of the king. After the succession of the duke of Anjou, a weak and unfortunate prince, conciliatory measures were once more adopted, and a fifth general peace, not more sincere than those which had preceded it, was concluded with the huguenots. But mutual jealousies still prevailed, and each faction fortified itself against a new rupture. The passions had been too much inflamed to cool easily; toleration was no longer to be hoped for; humanity had received a mortal wound from metaphysical differences degenerated into party and political rage.

The same views which induced Elizabeth, notwithstanding her frugality, to support the huguenots in France, would have led her to assist them in the Low-countries, had not the force and power of Philip kept her in awe. The prince of Orange, pressed by the armies of Spain, sent a solemn embassy to London, imploring the queen to aid the common cause of protestantism, and proffering to her the possession and sovereignty of the provinces, on condition that she should employ her power in their defence. To this liberal offer, various motives of interest and policy inclined Elizabeth to listen. The ambition of making conquests, or of acquiring new territory, was not among her faults; she was intent only on maintaining the peace and prosperity of her own dominions. An open war with Spain would be the consequence of her acceptance of the advantages proffered to her; nor could she, after having once taken the inhabitants under her protection, in honour abandon them to their oppressors. This engagement might therefore lead her farther than either her interest or convenience would admit. For these reasons she gave a decided negative to the proposal made to her; but, at the same time, informed the ambassadors, that, in return for the good-will shewn to her by the prince of Orange and the States, she would endeavour to meditate for them an accommodation on the most reasonable conditions that could be obtained. Her remonstrances with Philip, in pursuance of this promise, though sincere and fervent, proved ineffectual, and the war continued with its former violence. An accident, for the present, however, relieved the Hollanders from their desperate situation. The death of their governor, and the discontent of the Spanish forces, threw the whole country into confusion. The provinces united against

the ravages of the soldiery, and broke their chains on the heads of their oppressors: a treaty ensued, the Spanish troops were recalled, and they began once more to breathe from their calamities. Elizabeth perceiving, in the union of the provinces, a prospect of making a vigorous stand against Spain, no longer scrupled to embrace the protection of their liberties, which were so intimately connected with her own safety. A treaty of mutual alliance and defence was accordingly entered into, and signed January 7th, 1578.

While, England, from the prudence and vigour of the queen's administration, enjoyed a profound tranquillity, every other part of Europe was distracted with commotion. By supporting the zealous protestants in Scotland, Elizabeth had given to them the superiority over their antagonists, had connected their interest with her own, and secured herself from danger from that quarter, whence an invasion was most to be dreaded. In France, the huguenots counterbalanced the power of her enemies, the Guises, who had incurred the jealousy and hatred of the king. If the bigotry of Philip gave her cause for anxiety, the same bigotry had excited among her own subjects the most determined spirit of opposition. The queen of Scots, her rival and antagonist, was a captive in her hands; and by her high spirit had afforded a pretence for the most rigorous confinement.

Of the passions and interests of the age, religion was the moving spring; allowing for the prejudices of the times, the conduct of Elizabeth was on this subject both wise and temperate. She made no inquisition into men's opinions, nor did she impose the oath of supremacy but on those who received trust or emolument from the public. If the public exercise of any other than the established worship was prohibited, mass might be said in private without inquiry or interference. Her moderation had given to the pope just cause of fear, that all parties might, by degrees, become reconciled by these measures: it was under this apprehension that he had fulminated the bull against her, and taken pains to widen the breach between the two churches. If these circumstances, with the rebellion that ensued, had increased the vigilance and severity of government, yet the Romanists, when their condition is compared with that of the non-conformists of other countries,

had but little reason for complaint. Elizabeth was rather desirous of restraining the puritans, whose principles and claims, both civil and ecclesiastical, though less immediately dangerous to her government, were capable of an extent scarcely yet defined. Their secret attempts for the establishment of a separate discipline had been carefully suppressed in the commencement of her reign; she likewise manifested a determined resolution to punish by fines and deprivations such of the clergy as discovered a tendency to their opinions; but her orders to this purpose were frequently eluded. The frugality of Elizabeth, which, if sometimes extreme, led her not to amass treasures, but to forbear impositions upon the people, gained her the hearts of the nation. By a rigid economy, she paid all the debts with their full interest, which she found on the crown. She repaid loans, a singular practice, which she had exacted at the beginning of her reign; while she established her credit on such a basis, that no sovereign in Europe could more readily command any sum which the public exigences might require. If this wise and peaceful government adds not to the splendor of the historical page, it reflects on the memory of the monarch a more solid and lasting glory. Whatever might be the foibles of Elizabeth as a woman, she must ever stand high in the rank of sovereigns.

In a parliament summoned February 8th, 1576, some extraordinary topics were discussed. Peter Wentworth, who had before distinguished himself by his free and dauntless spirit, opened this session with a premeditated harangue, which excited the astonishment of the house, and the indignation of the courtiers. The first sketch of the principles of liberty, which afterwards gained an ascendant in England, and have since agitated Europe, were contained in this discourse. The decorum of attacking ministers, without personally implicating the monarch, was, in this rude age, and in these dawnings of eloquence, altogether unknown.

Wentworth was, by the Commons, sequestered from the house for the boldness of his remarks, and committed a prisoner to the sergeant at arms. They even ordered him to be examined by a committee, consisting of all those members who were also members of the privy-council, and who, having met in the star-chamber, summoned him to appear before

them, and answer for his behaviour. The Commons, in thus confounding with that of the star-chamber their own authority, discovered little delicacy, and less prudence. Wentworth, who better understood the principles of the constitution, refused to reply, till satisfied that his examiners acted, not as members of the privy-council, but as a committee of parliament. He then justified all he had said, nor would consent to express any contrition or remorse. After a month's confinement, Elizabeth thought proper to restore him to his liberty and seat in the house, as an act of special grace and favour. By this apparent lenity, she indirectly retained the power of imprisoning the members, and calling them to account for their conduct in parliament. The behaviour of both houses was, in other respects, sufficiently tame and submissive. Instead of a bill for the reformation of the church, they were content to present a petition to the throne for that purpose; and when told, that, should the bishops be negligent of their orders to amend abuses, the queen herself would, by her supreme power and authority, redress their grievances, and satisfy the nation, they acquiesced in this sovereign and peremptory decision. The Commons, having granted an aid of one subsidy and two fifteenths, Mildmay, in order to satisfy them of the reasonableness of the grant, entered into a detail of the expenses of government, taking care however to remind them, that this detail was to be regarded as the pure effect of condescension in the queen, who was not bound to yield them any account of how she employed her treasure.

Elizabeth, through her whole reign, never suffered her vigilance to be relaxed by any apparent security: but the political horizon now began to thicken, and tempests murmured at a distance from more than one quarter. New troubles had arisen in Scotland, where the regent, who was entirely in the English interest, had been compelled to resign his power into the hands of the young king, who had not yet completed his twelfth year. Into the tender mind of the prince new sentiments were inculcated, and his passions were moved in favour of his mother. Every change in the politics of Scotland, whence her enemies might with so much advantage attack her, filled the mind of Elizabeth with just alarm. Mary also had implored the protection of Philip, who had been exaspe-

rated by the conduct of her rival in the Low-countries; and who, in retaliation, though he avoided an open rupture, had sent, under the name of the pope, a body of troops into Ireland; where the inhabitants, always discontented with the English government, and alienated by religious differences, were ready to join every invader. The complaints made by the English ambassador on this account, were answered only by similar remonstrances, respecting the piracies committed by sir Francis Drake, a bold seaman, who attacked the Spaniards in the New World, where they had deemed themselves most secure, and made considerable depredations upon their commerce.

This man, born in Devon, of obscure parentage, was the first Englishman who sailed round the globe; nor had he been less fortunate than intrepid in his enterprises. With four ships and a pinnace, he had, in 1577, passed into the South Sea, and, falling on the Spaniards, who were unprepared for the attack, taken an immense booty. An endeavour was made to persuade the queen, whose consent and approbation he had obtained, to disown the enterprise, punish Drake, and restore the treasure; but Elizabeth, who admired valour, and whom the prospect of a share in the spoil contributed to allure, determined to countenance what had been done; she conferred on the hero the honour of knighthood, and accepted from him a banquet on board the memorable ship. She replied to the ambassador of Philip, that the Spaniards had, by arrogating to themselves an exclusive right to the whole of the New World, naturally tempted others to violence and outrage. She, however, to appease them, caused a part of the booty to be restored to a man who pretended to be agent to the merchants whom Drake had despoiled. But learning afterwards that Philip had seized the money, and employed it against herself in Ireland, she determined to make no more restitutions.

Another cause contributed to this resolution: want of money obliged her to call a parliament; a measure to which necessity only could urge her to have recourse. Beside granting a supply, some statutes were enacted this session for the security of government, more especially against the catholics.

Some late discoveries of the treasonable practices of the Romish priests gave occasion to these severe laws.

While hostilities daily multiplied between England and Spain, Elizabeth, aware that Philip sought her ruin from united motives of bigotry and interest, perceived the necessity of fortifying herself against so politic and powerful an enemy. The Guises having, in opposition to their monarch, formed a confederacy with Spain, opened the way for an alliance between France and England; which the general apprehensions of Europe, from the increase of the Spanish power, rendered yet more necessary. The duke of Alencon (now duke of Anjou) had never wholly dropped the project of espousing Elizabeth; who, on her part, though five-and-twenty years older than her suitor, to whom she was personally unknown, amused herself by a correspondence of gallantry, which flattered her coquetish humour. The duke, not satisfied with the courtship of his brother's ambassador, sent over an agent of his own, an artful and agreeable man, better calculated to forward his suit. Simier, who studied the temper of the queen, amused her by gay discourse, and avoided political reasonings, which, by awakening her ambition, injured his master's cause. The pleasure which Elizabeth experienced in the society of this man, produced between them great familiarity. The wisest of her ministers, amidst the hurry of business, found a less free access to her person. Leicester, who, trusting to her love of dominion, had hitherto beheld with indifference every treaty of this nature, at length took the alarm, and endeavoured to counteract the ascendency of Simier, respecting whom he raised and circulated the most ridiculous reports. Simier, in revenge for an accusation of having employed incantations and love-powders to ensnare the affections of the queen, tried, in his turn, to discredit Leicester. He informed Elizabeth of what no one had yet ventured to communicate to her, that Leicester had privately espoused the widow of the earl of Essex. Provoked at this intelligence, the queen threatened to send the earl a prisoner to the Tower. The quarrel between the two gentlemen was carried so far, that Leicester was suspected of hiring a bravo to assassinate his enemy, whom Elizabeth thought it necessary to take, by proclamation, under her own protection.

It happened that, as attended by Simier, the queen was

rowed in her barge on the Thames, a shot was fired, by which one of the bargemen was wounded. It appearing, on inquiry that this circumstance was accidental, the queen magnanimously gave liberty to the person who had discharged the piece, without farther punishment. She was so far from encouraging, on any occasion, distrust of the loyalty of her people, that she was frequently heard to say, 'that she would lend credit to nothing against them, which parents would not believe of their own children.'

The duke of Anjou, encouraged by the reports of his agent, paid a secret visit to his mistress at Greenwich; and, after some conversation with her, the purport of which was not known, privately departed. It does not appear that the lover, notwithstanding his figure was far from prepossessing, lost ground by this interview. Elizabeth, soon after, commanded her counsellors to concert with the French ambassadors the terms of the intended contract. A splendid embassy was sent over by France on the occasion; and, as to the queen was left the power of prescribing terms, the preliminaries were soon settled. It was agreed that the nuptials should be celebrated within six weeks after the ratification of the articles. The duke and his retinue were to have the exercise of their religion: after the marriage he was to bear the title of king, but the administration of government was to remain solely with the queen. Their children, whether male or female, were to succeed to the crown of England. Should there be two males, the elder, in case of the demise of Henry without issue, was to be the king of France, the younger to reign in England. The articles providing for the security of England, in case of its annexation to the crown of France, afforded but a melancholy prospect to the English, which the age of the queen, then in her forty-ninth year, only served to mitigate. A clause was added by Elizabeth, still anxious to maintain her independence, that she was not bound to complete the marriage, till farther articles, not specified, should be agreed to by the parties, and till the king of France be certified of their agreement.

Walsingham was sent over as ambassador to France, in order to form with the king a closer connexion, and to enter with him into a league, offensive and defensive, against Spain:

while the French monarch, impelled by various motives, did all in his power towards cultivating the favourable sentiments of the queen. Notwithstanding Elizabeth had proceeded thus far, her own mind was still undetermined: in the instructions to her ambassador, she confined him to the negotiation of a mutual alliance between France and England. Henry, with reluctance, submitted to hold a conference on this subject. But no sooner had Walsingham begun to settle conditions of alliance, than he was informed, that the queen, foreseeing hostilities with Spain would result from this confederacy, had declared, that she would prefer the marriage with the war, before the war without the marriage. The French court, pleased with this resolution, broke off the conferences respecting the league, and opened a negotiation for the marriage. In a little after, Elizabeth again declared for the league in preference to the marriage, and gave orders to her ambassador accordingly: to this change shortly succeeded another. The court of France, Walsingham, Cecil, and the English ministers, were equally at a loss to judge of the issue of the business. Conflicting passions seemed to war in the mind of Elizabeth, in which ambition, frugality, and inclination, triumphed in turn.

The duke of Anjou expected from her some assistance in money, to enable him to open the campaign in Flanders. Aware of the necessity of this supply, the queen reluctantly granted it after much hesitation: she sent to the duke a present of an hundred thousand crowns, which, joined to his own demesnes, and the assistance of his brother, enabled him to levy an army, and take the field. After obtaining some advantages, he put his army into winter quarters, and came over to England to prosecute his suit.

The flattering reception he met with removed all his doubts, and inspired him with the most sanguine hopes of success. On the anniversary of the coronation, which was celebrated with pomp, Elizabeth was observed, after a long and familiar conversation with the duke, to take from her finger a ring and place it upon his. This public proof of her favour persuaded the spectators that the nuptials could not be far distant: it was even regarded as a promise of marriage signified to the eyes of the world. The ambassadors from the states dispatched information to their masters of this great event; and the inhabi-

tants of Antwerp, by whom the queen was regarded as a tutelar deity, testified their satisfaction by public rejoicings. A puritan of Lincoln's Inn wrote an intemperate book, entitled "The Gulph in which England will be swallowed by the French Marriage." The author was apprehended, prosecuted by order of the queen, and condemned to lose his right hand as a libeller. Immediately after the execution of the sentence, such was the fortitude and loyalty of the man, that, taking off his hat with his remaining hand, and waving it over his head, he cried, 'God save the queen!'

Notwithstanding this public manifestation of her sentiments, the heart of Elizabeth was still agitated by doubts. The courtiers whom she most trusted and favoured, discovered an insuperable aversion to the marriage; while the ladies of her bed-chamber opposed to it, without scruple, the most earnest remonstrances. Sir Philip Sydney, the most accomplished man of the age, took the liberty of addressing to the queen a letter; in which, with great force of reasoning, and elegance of language, he endeavoured to dissuade her from the resolution she seemed to have taken. Elizabeth remained for some time in great perturbation, irresolution, and anxiety; her nights were sleepless, and her days unquiet; till, at length, as might have been foreseen, her permanent habits of prudence and ambition triumphed over a temporary inclination. In ambitious characters, affection is but a feeble sentiment, and voluptuousness a subordinate propensity.

Having sent for the duke of Anjou, the queen held with him a long conversation; in which it is supposed she apologised to him for breaking her engagements, as, on leaving her, he appeared greatly irritated and disgusted, threw away the ring which she had given him, and muttered curses on the mutability of women, and of islanders. He soon after departed to his government in the Netherlands; lost the confidence of the states by an attempt on their liberties; was expelled the country; retired into France, and there died. Thus did Elizabeth, by timely reflection, and by attending to the counsels of her friends, avoid the calamities which must have followed so unsuitable and imprudent a connexion. The French monarchy was in a state of too much distraction to resent the affront offered to the royal family.

The anxieties of Elizabeth from the attempts of the English catholics, ceased not during the whole of her reign; while the revolutions that happened in Scotland sometimes raised her hopes, and sometimes excited her fears. The queen of Scots had frequently made overtures to Elizabeth, which had been uniformly treated with neglect; but on hearing of the detention of her son, who had been seized by a conspiracy of his subjects, she wrote in a more impressive and spirited style, craving the assistance of England both in behalf of herself and of James. If Elizabeth still obstructed the restoration of Mary, it was because she perceived in such an event a delicate and perilous alternative. Should Mary recover any considerable share of authority in Scotland, her just resentment, her ambition, her zeal, and her connexions, would render her a formidable neighbour to England. If, on the contrary, she was bound by stricter limitations, disgust might induce her to break her bonds, to fly her country, and form in foreign climates desperate enterprises. Mary herself, aware of these difficulties, and convinced that Elizabeth would for ever debar her the throne, now lowered her demands, content to make sacrifices to obtain the blessing of liberty, which, like all other goods, had, from its privation, become more dear to her.

She proposed, therefore, that she should be associated with her son in the title to the crown, and that in his hands solely the administration should be vested: that she would even live in England, and be subject to some restraint, if she might be allowed more liberty, both for exercise and society, than she had enjoyed since the discovery of her intrigues with the duke of Norfolk. But Elizabeth, dreading lest this relaxation should facilitate her escape into France or Spain, encourage her partizans, or enable her to conduct those negotiations of which she had already shewed herself so capable, secretly determined on denying her request; while, at the same time, by affecting to assent to them, she redoubled the mortifications of her unhappy captive. While Lenox had maintained his authority in Scotland, she had given no reply to the applications of Mary; and now, when her own party had acquired the ascendancy, she threw on them the odium of her refusal.

But the affairs of Scotland again took a different turn; James, impatient of restraint, escaped from his keepers, and

regained his authority. Elizabeth wrote to him a letter on this occasion, in which she quoted a moral sentence from Isocrates, and indirectly reproached him with the breach of his engagements. The young king, in reply, justified his conduct, and for the sentence which had been directed against him from Isocrates, retorted against his antagonist two from the same author. Walsingham, a discerning and sagacious minister, was next deputed to him in an embassy, in order that he might instruct his mistress in the real character of James. From the account given by Walsingham, Elizabeth over-rated the abilities of the king of Scots, and treated him thenceforth with greater regard.

The affairs of Scotland were rendered important to the queen of England from the intrigues of her catholic subjects, which daily threatened some dangerous insurrection. The vigilance of the English ministers rose in proportion to the activity of the malecontents; while measures, which perhaps no occasion could justify, were employed to detect the projects of the disaffected. Counterfeit letters, written in the name of the captive queen, were privately conveyed to the houses of the catholics; spies were hired to observe the actions and discourse of suspected persons; informers were countenanced; calumnies listened to; and the people harassed with disquietude and alarm. Many noblemen and gentlemen were imprisoned; some discoveries made, and more imagined. In all these conspiracies, whether real or fancied, the queen of Scots was involved; her name was employed on the most fantastic occasions, in the dreams of zealots, or the chimeras of insanity. Too many precautions, it was believed, could not be made use of against the restless activity of the unhappy prisoner. Her keepers, and the scene of her captivity, were changed, and measures adopted more inflexibly severe. An association was set on foot by the earl of Leicester, and other courtiers, for the defence and safety of Elizabeth, to which all ranks crowded to subscribe with cheerful zeal. Mary, sensible of the tendency of this act, which was more particularly levelled against herself, desired, in her turn, with a view to obviate every suspicion, that she might be allowed to subscribe her name.

The more to discourage the malecontents, Elizabeth called a new parliament, which manifested towards her that attachment and respect which, from the spirit awakened in the nation, she had cause to expect. The association was confirmed by both houses, and a clause added, by which the queen was empowered to name commissioners for the trial of any pretender to the crown, who should attempt, or imagine, against her, any invasion, insurrection, or assassination. The person condemned by these commissioners was to be excluded from all claim to the succession, and to be farther punished as her majesty should direct. A council of regency was also, for the greater security, in case of the queen's violent death, appointed to govern the kingdom, to settle the succession, and to take vengeance on the traitor.

A severe law was also passed against jesuits and popish priests, that they should depart the kingdom within forty days, and on their return should be considered guilty of high treason. That those who harboured them should be prosecuted for felony, &c. By these laws the exercise of the catholic religion was totally suppressed.

The apologists for Elizabeth urge, in excuse for this intolerance, that the laws were directed rather against treasonable practices than theological dogmas, which in the peculiar state of those times it was difficult to separate. Nothing, however, can justify doing evil that good may result; the persecution of individuals, on the account of speculative opinions, is always absurd and unjust, as the question must continually recur: 'Which is the standard mind; thine or mine?' Prejudices are also embittered, and rendered obstinate and mischievous, by this kind of opposition; fanaticism, whatever be its nature, is the certain growth of persecution: of the truth of this observation, every sect, whether religious, political, or philosophical, has given proof: a principle or opinion, when not unfairly treated, will rest on its own weight, and stand or fall on the good sense of mankind; but the moment it is assailed by unlawful weapons, the passions are called in to its support, reason is overpowered in the struggle, and the flood-gates of malignity and misery are thrown open. No government, no individual, will answer the arguments of men by personal ill

treatment, but from a secret conviction of the weakness of their reason, or the injustice of their cause. Had Elizabeth, in her treatment of the queen of Scots and her catholic subjects, never deviated from the principles of candour and humanity, her reign would have been not less happy than glorious; and her name would have descended with unmixed honour to the latest posterity.

The parliament, beside arming their queen with these improper powers, granted to her a supply. Overawed by her authority, they no longer ventured to introduce any bill concerning ecclesiastical affairs, but contented themselves with a humble petition to the house of lords, or rather to the bench of bishops, through whom they were contented to receive all advances towards a reformation. Such, in these times, was the royal prerogative; and such the dignity of the representatives of the nation. But the principle article touched on by the Commons in their petition, was the ecclesiastical commission, and the oath *ex officio*, as it was called, exacted by that court; a real inquisition, in which a person was bound to answer all questions, even to the accusation of himself, or his most intimate friends; a court, exempted from legal jurisdiction, and liable to no control, attended by all the iniquities and the cruelties inseparable from so horrid a tribunal. This court, destructive of all law, was a mere usurpation of the imperious and arbitrary Elizabeth, resting on no other foundation than the clause of a statute, restoring the supremacy to the crown, and empowering the monarch to appoint commissioners for exercising the prerogative.

Notwithstanding the Commons had touched with so much delicacy on these odious grievances, they were, at the end of the session, reprimanded for their presumption, from the throne. Whoever, they were told by the queen, found fault with the church, threw a slander upon her, since she was appointed, *by God*, its supreme ruler, and no heresies or schisms could prevail in the kingdom but by her permission or negligence. She warned the prelates to watchfulness; since, should she find them careless of their charge, she was determined to depose them. 'She was commonly,' she said, 'supposed to have employed herself in many studies, particularly in philosophical

(i. e. theological) speculations; and she would confess, that few persons, whose leisure allowed them not to profess a science, had read or reflected more than herself. As she was therefore capacitated to discern the presumption of those who curiously canvassed the scriptures, and started innovations, she was determined no longer to endure their temerity; but would guide her people, *by God's rule*, in the just mean between the corruptions of the court of Rome and the errors of modern sectaries: as the former were the inveterate enemies of her person, so were the latter of all kingly governments; while, under pretence of preaching the word of God, they presumed to exercise their private judgments upon the actions of princes.'

Far from yielding to the just desire of her parliament, respecting the ecclesiastical commission, Elizabeth, in the course of her reign, granted a new commission, in which the powers of the commissioners were enlarged. It is unnecessary to observe, that the principles of liberty, and of a legal constitution, were then unknown.

Another conspiracy, by which the breach between the religious factions was aggravated, was discovered about this period (1584). Parry, a catholic gentleman, who had received the queen's pardon for a capital crime, conspired against the life of his benefactress: a jesuit persuaded him, that such an action would be highly meritorious; the pope's nuncio had also approved of the pious undertaking.

These sanguinary plots, the natural result of the steps that had been taken, and of the spirit of party mutually inflamed, every-where multiplied. The prince of Orange, less fortunate than Elizabeth, having fallen a victim to the dagger of an assassin, the states, again reduced to an extremity, sent ambassadors to London, with an offer of acknowledging the queen of England as their sovereign, on condition of obtaining her protection and assistance. The wisest counsellors of Elizabeth were divided in their opinions respecting the propriety of her acceptance of these proposals. After listening to the arguments on either side, she determined to steer a middle course; to refuse the sovereignty of the states, by which her whole force would be engaged in their defence, but to assist them, on certain conditions, with money and troops. By this measure she was aware, that she should be engaged in open hostilities with

Philip; a circumstance by which she was not intimidated, notwithstanding the power and opulence of Spain. So great was the prepossession of Europe respecting the force of the Spanish monarchy, that the king of Sweden, on hearing that Elizabeth had openly embraced the cause of the revolted Flemings, observed, 'that she had now taken the diadem from her head, and had adventured it upon the doubtful chance of war.' The natural temper of Elizabeth was cautious, rather than daring, but, when the necessity called for exertion, she braved danger with magnanimous courage: trusting to her own abilities, and to the affections of her people, she prepared to encounter the whole force of the Spanish empire.

The earl of Leicester was sent over to Holland at the head of the English auxiliary troops. He carried with him a splendid retinue, and was received by the people in triumph and with joy. The states, in the hope of gratifying the queen, of whose favour to Leicester they were not ignorant, conferred on him the title of governor and captain-general of the United Provinces, appointed a guard to attend him, and treated him with almost regal honours. The conclusion which they had formed was, however, erroneous; Elizabeth was displeased with their artifice, and the ambition of Leicester, both of which she reprimanded severely, nor was it without humble submissions that they were able to appease her.

America was considered as the source whence Philip drew his advantages, and here it was determined to attack him. The riches of the Spanish West Indies afforded a flattering prospect to the ambition and rapacity of England. A fleet of twenty sail was equipped, and sir Francis Drake appointed its admiral. Their success was answerable to their temerity and their hopes. Drake returned so much enriched, and with such an account of the Spanish weakness in these territories, that the spirit of the nation was inflamed to future enterprises. The mortality produced in the fleet by the climate opposed but a feeble impediment to the avidity of new adventurers. The fleet of Drake, it is thought, first introduced the use of tobacco into England.

Leicester was, on the land, far less successful; possessing neither courage nor capacity equal to the trust reposed in him, he afforded the only instance given by Elizabeth, of an injudi-

cious choice made in the filling up of any considerable employment. Hence it was believed, that a sentiment still more partial than friendship operated on her mind in his favour. Some advantages had at first been gained against the Spaniards in Holland, which were more than counterbalanced by the loss of sir Philip Sydney, the celebrated author of the Arcadia, and the most amiable and accomplished man of the age. Genius, talents, elegant erudition, heroic valour, and unblemished morals, combined to render Sydney the boast and ornament of his times. His magnanimity continued to display itself in his last moments: a soldier, at the point of death, chanced to lie near him, when, stretched on the field of battle, nearly expiring and mangled with wounds, a bottle of water was brought to him to relieve his thirst: 'This man's necessity,' said he, resigning to the dying soldier the water, 'is greater than mine.' The king of Scots, struck with admiration of the virtues of Sydney, celebrated his memory in a copy of Latin verses.

The states were discontented with the management of Leicester, and still more with his despotic and imperious conduct: at the end of the campaign, they applied to him for a redress of their grievances; but Leicester, without giving them satisfaction, departed for England.

While Elizabeth provoked the force of Spain, she was not negligent to guard herself on the side of Scotland: she sought to cultivate the friendship and alliance of James, and to remove from between them all grounds of dispute. Her conduct, notwithstanding, was but little calculated to inspire confidence. Of the jealousy which Elizabeth had ever entertained with regard to her heirs, James now had become the object: as he advanced to a maturer age, she was apprehensive lest, by marriage and alliances, he should strengthen his influence over the English nation. Impressed by these ideas, the habitual spectres of her imagination, she directed her minister to form a secret party with some Scots noblemen, and engage them to promise, that the king should not, during three years, be, on any account, permitted to marry. In pursuance of this crooked policy, by which Elizabeth was for ever multiplying difficulties, that in the fair and open path of honour it might have been easy to avoid, the courtiers of James endeavoured to embroil him with the king of Denmark, who had a project of marrying

him to his daughter. Wotton is even said to have employed his artifices to still baser purposes, and to have formed, with some malecontents, a conspiracy to seize the person of the king, and to deliver him into the hands of Elizabeth. The plot was discovered, and the traitor fled from Scotland without taking leave of the young monarch, whose favour he had so cruelly abused.

The situation of James obliged him to dissemble his sense of this attempt, which his placable temper induced him to forgive. Elizabeth found no difficulty in renewing the negotiations for a strict alliance between the two nations; while, the more effectually to conciliate the mind of James, she granted him a pension, equivalent to his claims on the inheritance of his grand-mother, the countess of Lenox, lately deceased. A league was formed between the two monarchs, for the mutual defence of their domains and their religion, menaced by a combination of all the catholic powers of Europe.

The jealousy which had been excited in Elizabeth by the pretensions, the principles, and the character of the queen of Scots, induced her to adopt measures by which the danger was aggravated. Mary, in resentment of the severe treatment which she experienced, continually menaced the repose and the authority of her oppressor. Every abortive attempt to free herself from confinement, brought upon the captive queen additional rigours, by which her spirit, high and undaunted, was exasperated rather than broken. To impatience of injuries, religious zeal added its fervours, which the suggestions of desperate bigots fanned into a flame. By a combination of causes, Mary was at length urged to her ruin; for an opportunity to effect which her enemies had been long laying in wait.

The English seminary at Rheims had, from the persecutions it experienced, wrought itself up into a frenzy of rage and animosity against Elizabeth: some among them even carried their extravagance so far, as to affirm, that the bull fulminated by the pope against her, had been the immediate dictates of the Holy Ghost. The assassination of heretical princes, and more especially of Elizabeth, was represented as the most meritorious of sacrifices; while it was firmly believed, that whoever should perish in this pious enterprise, would be rewarded with the glorious and unfading crown of martyrdom.

Stimulated by such doctrines, John Savage, a man of desperate courage, who had served in the Low Countries, under the prince of Parma, determined to charge himself with the adventure: having bound himself to this purpose by a vow, he was sent over to England, and recommended to the confidence of the more zealous catholics. John Ballard, a priest of that persuasion, who had returned to Paris from his mission in England and Scotland, formed a project for the dethronement of Elizabeth, and for restoring by force of arms the ancient religion. A discovery which he had made of the spirit of mutiny and rebellion, among the catholic devotees in both countries, had afforded a foundation for his plan; to which the affairs of the continent seemed peculiarly favourable. The pope, the king of Spain, the duke of Guise, and the prince of Parma, had come to a resolution of making some attempt upon the queen; and the Spanish ambassador strongly encouraged Ballard to hope for succours from these princes. Charles Paget, a zealous catholic, and a partizan of Mary, persisted in declaring, that so long as Elizabeth was allowed to live, it would be in vain to expect success from any enterprise against England. Ballard, persuaded of this truth, passed over to England, disguised as a soldier, with the assumed name of captain Fortescue. His purpose was to effect at once the project of an assassination, an insurrection, and an invasion.

The first person to whom he addressed himself was Anthony Babington, of Derby; a young gentleman of good family, devoted to the catholic communion, possessing an ample fortune, an excellent capacity, and literary endowments beyond his years or station. In a secret tour which he had made to Paris, Babington had become acquainted with Thomas Morgan, a bigotted fugitive from England, and also with the bishop of Glasgow, Mary's ambassador to France. These men had, by continually extolling the beauty, the accomplishments, and the virtues of the captive queen, inflamed the imagination of Babington, and stimulated him to an ardent desire of doing her service. Every principle of ambition, of gallantry, of religious zeal, was employed on the occasion, and interested in her behalf. Babington became inspired with a degree of enthusiasm that led him to dare every thing, and to contemn

danger. Thus disposed by artful men for their purpose, he was sent back to England, and secretly, even unknown to himself, recommended to the queen of Scots, as a person worth engaging in her interest. Mary, in consequence of these intimations, addressed to him a letter full of friendship and confidence. From this circumstance, the sanguine and romantic Babington conceived himself bound in honour to devote himself wholly to her service. During some time he had charged himself with the conduct of her foreign correspondence; but, after she had been subjected to more rigorous custody, he was obliged to desist from this dangerous negotiation.

When Ballard addressed himself to this gentleman, he found no difficulty in reviving his zeal. Babington, far from being shocked at the atrocity of the action, proposed to join to Savage four others in the bloody enterprise. In conformity to this view, he employed himself in increasing the number of his associates, and secretly drew into the conspiracy many catholic gentlemen, who were discontented with the present government. The delivery of the queen of Scots, at the instant that the murder should be perpetrated, was necessary to the plan: this was undertaken by Babington, who was to attack her guards, with a party of an hundred horse, while she should be taking the air on horseback. A nobleman of some name was in vain sought for by the conspirators, as a head to the party; they trusted, notwithstanding, that the events of the queen's death, and the deliverance of Mary, would rouse to arms all the zealous catholics: foreign forces might then take advantage of the confusion, and fix the queen of Scots on the throne.

These desperate schemes had not escaped the vigilance of Elizabeth's council, particularly of Walsingham, secretary of state; who had engaged Maud, a catholic priest, retained in his pay, to attend Ballard in his journey to France. By this means he gained a hint of what was designed. Polly, another of his spies, had insinuated himself among the conspirators in England; and, though not entirely trusted, had got an insight into their secrets. But the whole of the conspiracy was not disclosed, till Gifford, a seminary priest, came over, and tendered his services to Walsingham. Thus was the fate of Mary, and that of her partizans, finally involved.

Babington and his associates, promising themselves infallible success, were impatient to communicate to the queen of Scots their designs, and to obtain for them her approbation. For this service they employed Gifford, who immediately applied to Walsingham, that the interest of the minister might forward his correspondence with Mary. Walsingham proposed the business to Paulet, who held the royal prisoner in charge: but, averse to introducing into his family so pernicious a precedent, Paulet desired he would adopt some other methods. Gifford found a brewer who supplied the family with ale, and this man he bribed to convey letters to the captive queen. These letters, by the connivance of Paulet, were thrust through a chink in the wall, and answers returned in the same manner. Ballard and Babington, diffident at first of Gifford's fidelity, gave him blank papers by way of trial. But finding by the answers, that these had been faithfully delivered, they scrupled not to convey through his hands the most criminal parts of the conspiracy. Mary was informed by Babington of the plan of a foreign invasion, an insurrection at home, the scheme for her delivery, and for the assassination* of the usurper, by six gentlemen, his private friends, who, from zeal for the catholic cause, and her majesty's service, had undertaken the tragical execution. These letters, with others to the Spanish ambassador, to Paget, to the archbishop of Glasgow, &c. are said to have been carried by Gifford to Walsingham, to have been decyphered by his clerk, and copies of them taken. Walsingham employed a new artifice to obtain yet a farther knowledge of the plot. He added a postscript to a letter of Mary's in the same cypher, in which he made her desire to be informed of the names of the six assassins.

Babington, in the mean time, anxious to insure and hasten the foreign succours, determined to dispatch Ballard into France; and to procure for him, under a feigned name, a license to travel. To remove from himself all suspicion, he applied to Walsingham, to whom he affected great zeal for the

* The cognizance of Mary to this scheme, especially to those parts of it which are most atrocious, was strongly denied by Mary in her last moments; and is also, by her partizans and friends, endeavoured to be disproved. See Memoirs of Mary, Queen of Scots.

service of the queen, while he offered to go abroad, and to employ the confidence he had gained among the catholics for the detection and disappointment of their conspiracies. Walsingham commended his loyalty, accepted his offers, promised him counsel and assistance, and lulled him into security. A warrant at the same time was issued for the apprehending of Ballard; a circumstance which, joined to conscious guilt, filled the conspirators with concern and solicitude. Some advised an immediate escape; others, a prompt execution of their purpose against Elizabeth. For the prosecution of this scheme, Babington furnished Savage with money, that he might procure himself clothes suited to facilitate his access to the queen. On the ensuing day they persuaded themselves that they had been too easily alarmed; and Babington, having renewed his correspondence with the minister, allowed himself to be imposed upon by the subtle Walsingham; who informed him, that the seizure of Ballard had been occasioned by the usual diligence of informers in the detection of popish and seminary priests. He even consented to lodge secretly in Walsingham's house, for the convenience of holding with him more frequent conferences. But, at length, observing that he was watched and guarded, he made his escape, and alarmed the conspirators. Covered with different disguises, they all took to flight, concealing themselves in woods and barns: but, being quickly discovered, were thrown into prison. On being examined, they contradicted each other; till the leaders were compelled to a full confession. Fourteen were condemned and executed, of whom seven acknowledged their guilt. The remainder were convicted on evidence.

The fate of the lesser conspirators being thus determined, measures were taken for the trial and conviction of the captive queen, on whose account, and by whose concurrence, the tranquillity of the kingdom was thus disturbed. Some of the counsellors of Elizabeth were averse to this procedure; urging, that the close confinement of a woman already very sickly, and whose natural death would probably put a speedy end to all their anxieties, might give sufficient security to government, without taking steps of which there was scarcely a parallel in history. It was the advice of Leicester that Mary should be

privately dispatched by poison: he sent a clergyman to convince Walsingham of the lawfulness of such an expedient; of which the secretary, with the majority of the counsellors, resolutely declared their abhorrence.

The situation of England, and of the English ministers, was peculiarly critical and precarious: no successor to the crown had yet been appointed; the heir by blood was an enemy to the national religion, and still more, from multiplied injuries, to the ministers and principal nobles; whose personal safety, together with the security of government, hung on the life of Elizabeth. These circumstances sufficiently account for their animosity to the queen of Scots, and for their eager desire of urging measures to extremity. It was their interest, still more than that of Elizabeth, to prevent Mary from ascending the English throne.

The discovery of what had taken place to Mary, with the subsequent transactions which terminated in her execution, are here passed over, as belonging more properly to the life of the queen of Scots.

Among the papers of Mary were found several letters, expressive of attachment and respect, from English noblemen: of these letters Elizabeth took no notice; but their authors, convinced of the detection of their correspondence, and alarmed for the consequences, became, to atone for their imprudence, the most inveterate enemies of the unhappy victim. It was resolved that Mary should be tried, not by the common statutes of treason, but by the act passed with a view to this event the preceding year; by which a commission, consisting of forty noblemen and privy-counsellors, were empowered to examine and to pass sentence against her.

Mary was at length brought to the situation so long and so ardently desired by Elizabeth, who had been solicitous to find plausible pretences to rid herself of a rival whom she hated, though important considerations had hitherto restrained her vengeance. She foresaw the odious colours in which this extraordinary transaction would be represented by the friends of the queen of Scots, and the reproach to which she might expose herself with foreign princes and posterity. To dissemble was habitual to Elizabeth, who found no difficulty in affecting the utmost reluctance to permit the sentence, pro-

nounced by the commissioners upon Mary, to be put in execution. Having rejected the solicitations of her ministers and courtiers, made an ostentatious display of tender sympathy for the prisoner, and displayed all her scruples and objections, she declared, that nothing but the deepest concern for her people's safety, could make her hesitate for a moment in forgiving all the injuries she had herself received from the queen of Scots.

That the voice of the nation might be heard yet louder, she summoned a new parliament, aware, both from the dispositions of the assembly, and the influence of her ministers over it, that she should not want for intreaties to give her consent to a measure which her inclinations secretly favoured. She forbore to open the assembly in person, but appointed for the purpose three commissioners, among whom was the treasurer Burleigh. Her tenderness and delicacy were alleged as the motives of this conduct. She had not courage, so much was she hurt by the late transaction, to be present at the deliberations to which it would necessarily give rise; she therefore withdrew her eyes from a scene which she could not behold without pain. She wished also that the people should see, by this unusual caution, the danger to which her person was hourly exposed, and thence be irritated to take vengeance on the criminal, to whose intrigues and conspiracies she had so long been exposed.

The parliament fully gratified these expectations: the sentence against Mary was ratified by both houses; and an application made to the queen to consent to its execution. To this petition she returned an answer equivocal and embarrassed, full of apparent irresolution and real artifice. She entreated her parliament to think once again, whether it were possible to find any other expedient than the death of the queen of Scots, to restore the public tranquillity.

The parliament, in obedience to the command of the queen, once more considered the affair, but could find no other alternative. Their solicitations, their entreaties, and their arguments, were re-urged. They even remonstrated, that mercy to the queen of Scots would be cruelty to them, to their children, and to the nation. To deny the execution of the law to the instances of an individual, they declared, would be injustice; much more to the whole body of the people, unani-

mously imploring of the queen this pledge of her parental care and affection. The doubts and scruples of Elizabeth were exhibited anew on this second address: she complained of the importunity which she suffered; of her own unfortunate situation; renewed her professions of regard to her people; and dismissed the committee still in uncertainty. Notwithstanding this pretended reluctance, she complied with the request of the house to publish the sentence against Mary; which was received by the people with unanimous joy: they believed, that, while the queen of Scots survived, their religion could never obtain settlement and security.

While the captive queen prepared herself to meet her fate, great efforts were made by foreign powers to save her from the catastrophe which appeared to await her. To these were added the remonstrances, and entreaties of James, who deserved to be heard in the cause of his mother. Elizabeth was at first offended by the vehemence of his applications, but a little reflection on the relation in which he stood to the ill-fated Mary, served to allay her anger. Her resolutions however remained unmoved. Various causes combined to convince her that she had little to fear from the resentment of Scotland. But while, to the solicitations of James, and of the foreign princes, she appeared to remain inflexible, to her own ministers her scruples and her hesitation were perpetually re-produced: her humanity, she declared, revolted against the sanguinary measures proposed to her; nor could she help feeling the liveliest compassion and respect for the misfortunes and dignity of the unhappy prisoner.

The courtiers, seeing through her hypocrisy, and sensible that nothing could be more acceptable to the queen than persuasions on this subject, failed not to urge the punishment of Mary, and to obviate every objection brought forward against it. When Elizabeth conceived that every argument had been used, and every delay interposed, which decency demanded, she determined to carry the sentence into execution. But even this resolution was to be attended with a new scene of artifice. Rumours were, to alarm the vulgar, previously circulated, that the Spanish fleet was arrived at Milford-haven; that the Scotch had made an irruption from the north; that the Guises had, with an army, landed in Sussex; that Mary,

having escaped from prison, had collected troops; that the northern counties had begun an insurrection; that a conspiracy was on foot to set the city of London on fire, and to assassinate the queen; and even that she had already fallen a victim to treachery. An attempt of this nature was imputed to the French ambassador, who found himself obliged to leave the kingdom. Elizabeth pretended terror and perplexity, affected to be alone, to be silent and pensive, or to speak to herself in low and half-suppressed sentences, implying the distress to which she was reduced.

She at length summoned her secretary, Davison, a man of abilities, but of a plain character, on whom it was not difficult to impose; a quality for which he had been recently selected. This man was ordered to draw out, secretly, a warrant for the execution of the queen of Scots; which it was afterwards pretended by Elizabeth, she meant to keep by her in case of an attempt for the deliverance of Mary. Having signed the warrant, she commanded Davison to carry it to the chancellor, for the purpose of having the seal affixed to it. On the next day she sent Killigrew to the secretary, enjoining him to forbear for some time to execute the orders he had received; but, when he came to inform her that the warrant had already passed the seals, she discovered some emotion, and blamed his precipitation. Davison, in perplexity, having acquainted the council with the whole transaction, they endeavoured to persuade him to send off Beale, the clerk of the council, with the warrant. Should the queen be displeased, they promised to justify his conduct, and to take on themselves the blame of the measure. The secretary, not aware of their intention, fell into the snare: the warrant was dispatched, and orders given for the execution of the prisoner.

Elizabeth received the news of the catastrophe with apparent surprise and indignation. Her countenance changed, her voice failed her, and she stood for a time in mute astonishment. Her grief, whether real or feigned, at length found vent in audible lamentations. She put on deep mourning, and, surrounded only by her women, appeared bathed in tears. Neither her ministers nor counsellors dared to approach her; or if any of them assumed such temerity, she drove him from her presence with rage and indignation. They had all of them,

she said, been guilty of an unpardonable crime, in putting to death her dear sister and kinswoman, contrary to her fixed purpose and intention, of which they were sufficiently apprised.

It is probable that the concern of Elizabeth was not wholly a farce. It was not possible that she should be without apprehensions for the event of so extraordinary a transaction; or that a mind like hers, ambitious, vain, and alive to fame, could be indifferent to the impression it was likely to produce on Europe. In a letter which she addressed to the king of Scots, when her violent sorrow gave way to reflection, she told him that she wished he knew, but not felt, the unutterable distress which she experienced on account of that lamentable accident, which, without her knowledge, much less her concurrence, had happened in England. That her pen trembled when she attempted to write it; and compelled her to commit the sad narration to her kinsman, the messenger, who would inform his majesty of the circumstances attending this dismal and unlooked-for misfortune. That she appealed for her innocence to the supreme Judge of heaven and earth; and was gratified, amidst her afflictions, to find that many persons in her court could bear witness to the sincerity of this protestation. She abhorred (she declared) hypocrisy and dissimulation; and deemed nothing more worthy of a prince than a frank and open conduct; and surely she could never be esteemed so base and poor-spirited, if she had really given orders for this fatal execution, as to be induced, for any consideration, to deny them. Though sensible of the justice of the sentence, she had determined from clemency never to put it in execution; and could not but resent the temerity of those who had on this occasion disappointed her intention. As no one, she added, loved the king of Scots more dearly than herself, or was more solicitous for his welfare, she hoped he would consider as his enemies those who, on account of the present incident, should endeavour to excite animosity between them.

The more effectually to appease James, and convince him of her sincerity, she committed Davison to prison, and ordered him to be tried for his misdemeanor in the star-chamber. The secretary, confounded and sensible of the danger of contesting with the queen, humbly expressed his penitence, and submitted patiently to the reproaches of those counsellors, by

whose persuasion he had acted, and who had promised him protection. He was condemned to imprisonment during the queen's pleasure, and to pay a fine of ten thousand pounds. He remained a long time in custody, and was reduced to beggary by the fine, which was rigorously levied upon him. All the favour he could obtain from the queen, was small supplies from time to time, merely to preserve him from perishing.

He wrote to his friend Walsingham a private apology, in which were many curious particulars. The French and Scots ambassadors, he said, had been remonstrating with the queen in behalf of Mary: immediately after their departure, Elizabeth, of her own accord, demanded of him the warrant for the execution of the queen of Scots, which she signed readily, and ordered it to be sealed with the great seal of England. 'Go,' said she jocularly, and in great good humour; 'Go, tell all this to Walsingham, who is now sick; though I fear he will die for sorrow when he hears it.' She added, that though she had so long delayed the execution, lest she should seem to be actuated by malice or cruelty, she was all along sensible of its necessity. She blamed, in the same conversation, Drury and Paulet,* that they had not before eased her of this trouble: she also expressed her desire that, in this particular, Walsingham would bring them to a compliance. So intent was she on this idea, that, some time afterwards, she inquired of Davison whether any letter had been received from Paulet respecting the service expected of him? Davison shewed her Paulet's letter, in which he positively refused to do any thing inconsistent with the principles of honour and justice. This roused the passions of Elizabeth, who vehemently accused both Paulet and Drury of perjury, for having taken the oath of association, in which they had bound themselves to avenge her wrongs, and yet refusing to lend their aid on this occasion: 'But others,' said she, 'may be found less scrupulous.' Davison adds, that nothing but the consent and exhortations of the whole council could have engaged him to send off the warrant. He was aware of his danger; and remembered that the queen having, in like manner, ordered the

* The keepers of Mary.

execution of the duke of Norfolk, threw the whole blame and odium of the transaction upon Burleigh her minister. It is dangerous to serve monarchs too well: it is the nature of power to corrupt the heart.

The dissimulation of Elizabeth was too gross to deceive any one: James refused to admit her messenger into his presence; he recalled his ambassadors from England, and appeared to breathe only vengeance. The states of Scotland entered into his quarrel, and many of his nobles urged him to take up arms. The catholics exhorted him to ally himself to Spain, and to lay immediate claim to the English crown. Elizabeth, not insensible to the danger of these counsels, after allowing a time for his grief and anger to abate, employed her agents to pacify his mind, and to urge to him every motive, whether of hope or fear, that might induce him to continue with her in friendship. Walsingham also addressed to the Scots secretary of state a letter full of judicious arguments and remonstrances, on the absurdity and the danger of seeking a rupture with England. The young monarch, whose temper was pacific and unambitious, suffered these considerations to prevail over his resentment, and gradually entered into an amicable correspondence with the English court. The dissimulation of Elizabeth at least afforded to James a pretence for renewing that amity in which their mutual interests were so nearly concerned.

While ensuring tranquillity at home, Elizabeth was not negligent of distant dangers. Philip was secretly preparing a large navy to avenge himself of the insults he had received from the English. Informed of this purpose, the queen commissioned sir Francis Drake to intercept his supplies, to pillage his coast, and to destroy his shipping. Sir Francis, having learned from two Dutch ships which he met in his passage, that a Spanish fleet richly laden was laying at Cadiz, ready to sail for Lisbon, the rendezvous of the intended armada, bent his course for the former place, and boldly attacked the enemy. This enterprise proved not less successful than intrepid: an hundred vessels, laden with ammunition and naval stores, were burned, and a large ship of the marquese of Santa Croce's destroyed. Other successes and captures, in which the English fleet insulted Lisbon itself, raised the spirits of the people. The seamen, encouraged to farther enterprises, learned to

despise the large and unwieldy ships of the enemy: the naval preparations of Spain were destroyed; the intended expedition against England retarded a twelvemonth; and leisure was given to the queen to take more secure measures against the threatened invasion. Private adventurers fitted out ships for the purpose of making depredations on the Spaniards. A gentleman of Devonshire, Thomas Cavendish, with three small vessels, adventured into the Spanish South-seas, and took nineteen ships, some of them richly laden. Returning by the Cape of Good Hope, he came back to England, and entered the river in triumph. His mariners and soldiers were clothed in silk, his sails were of damask, and his topsail of cloth of gold. His prizes were esteemed the richest that had ever been brought into the country.

The enterprises on the continent this campaign (1587) were far less honourable and advantageous. Leicester had disgusted the Hollanders, and miscarried in his plans: he was recalled by the queen, and commanded to resign his government. Maurice, son to the prince of Orange, a youth of twenty years of age, was elected by the states in his place, and Peregrine lord Willoughby appointed by Elizabeth commander of the English forces. The measures of these generals were retarded by the malice of Leicester, who by means of his emissaries disturbed the operations of the states. Elizabeth on receiving intelligence of these disorders, took care to redress them; but, notwithstanding her good sense thus far prevailed over her partiality for Leicester, she could never be fully convinced of his vices and incapacity: his submission restored him to her favour; and lord Buckhurst, who had accused him of misconduct in Holland, lost for a time her confidence, and was even committed to custody.

Sir Christopher Hatton, another favourite of the queen, received about this time some marks of her friendship. Though he had never followed the profession of the law, he was made chancellor, and acquitted himself in his high station not unworthily. His abilities supplied the place of study and experience, and his decisions were not deficient either in judgment or equity.

But these cabals and intrigues were forgotten in the tidings, which now arrived from all quarters, of the great preparations

made by the Spaniards for the invasion and conquest of England. Philip, who had not yet declared war, had long cherished a desire of avenging himself of Elizabeth, for the hostilities which she had every where committed against him. The prosperous situation of his affairs, and the immense treasures he imported from America, awakened in his mind the thirst of dominion. The point in which he principally placed his glory, and the perpetual object of his policy, was the support of orthodoxy, and the extermination of heresy. In subduing Elizabeth, the bulwark of the protestants, he aimed at the eternal renown of re-uniting the whole christian world under the catholic banner. The long peace of England had deprived it of military experience, and he relied on the assistance of the catholics, with whom it abounded. The fate of the island must be decided in two battles, one by sea, the other by land; and between the English and Spaniards, either for naval force, for numbers, for reputation, or for veteran bravery, he believed that no comparison could be made. Other causes combined to point out the present as a favourable opportunity which it was necessary to seize: Philip therefore determined to make one bold effort for the ascendency in Europe, to which his present advantages seemed to entitle him. His preparations had for some time been proceeding in private; his purpose was now made public; and every part of his vast empire resounded with the noise of his armaments.

The marquis of Santa Croce, a sea officer of great reputation, was destined to the command of the fleet, and by his counsel the navy was conducted. Vessels of uncommon size and force were constructed in all the ports of Sicily, of Portugal, and of Spain, and stores in proportion amassed. Armies were levied, and plans laid out for a fleet, and embarkation, such as Europe had never witnessed. In Flanders the preparations were not less formidable; troops from all quarters were every moment assembling. An army of thirty-four thousand men, collected in the Netherlands, was kept in readiness to be transported to England. All the carpenters which could be procured were employed by the duke of Parma, who built a number of boats and flat-bottomed vessels for the transportation of the armies into England. Princes and nobles, the most renowned of Italy and Spain, were ambitious of a share in this

glorious enterprise. About two thousand volunteers, many of them men of family, enlisted in the service of Spain. No one doubted but preparations so immense, conducted by officers of such consummate skill, must be finally successful. The Spaniards, in ostentation of their power, and animated with hope, had already given to their navy the title of the *Invincible Armada*.

These extraordinary preparations were soon known in England. Elizabeth, having foreseen the invasion, determined to contend for her crown with the whole force of the Spanish monarchy. She beheld, without shrinking, a power by which all Europe was persuaded she must be necessarily overwhelmed; so inadequate appeared the force she had to oppose to the enemy. Fourteen thousand two hundred and ninety-five men were all the sailors which England afforded, the largest of whose ships of war was comparatively small: among the vessels belonging to the merchants, there were not four which exceeded four hundred tons. The royal navy consisted but of twenty-eight ships, which from their bulk were rather entitled to the name of pinnaces. The only advantage of the English fleet was in the courage and dexterity of its sailors, who had in tempestuous seas been accustomed to expose themselves to danger. In the same proportion as their vessels were inferior in size and force, their mariners excelled those of the enemy. Every commercial town in the island was required to furnish ships for reinforcing this small navy; nor were they deficient in alacrity and zeal for the defence of their liberties and religion against their powerful invader. The citizens of London, of whom fifteen vessels were demanded, voluntarily equipped double the number. Forty-three ships were hired, armed, and manned, by the nobility, at their own charge; while all the loans of money demanded by the queen, were frankly and liberally granted. Lord Howard, a man of courage and capacity, took upon himself the naval command: Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, the most celebrated seamen in Europe, served under him. The main fleet was stationed at Plymouth; a smaller squadron, consisting of forty vessels, commanded by lord Seymour lay off Dunkirk, to intercept the duke of Parma. The land forces of England, though more numerous than those of Spain, were inferior in discipline, reputation, and experience:

twenty thousand men were, in different bodies, disposed along the south coast; with orders, if they could not prevent the Spaniards from landing, to retire backward, waste the surrounding country, and lay wait for a reinforcement from the neighbouring counties. Twenty-two thousand foot, and a thousand horse, under the command of Leicester, were stationed at Tilbury to defend the capital. The main army, consisting of thirty-four thousand foot, and two thousand horse, was commanded by lord Hunsdon, and appointed to march whithersoever the enemy should appear. Should the Spaniards effect a landing, the fate of England would probably depend on a single battle: many began to tremble when they compared the veteran troops of Spain, commanded by experienced officers, under the duke of Parma, the most consummate general of the age, with the military force of England, long disused to war, and enervated by peace.

The kingdom seemed to depend on the spirit and prudence of the queen, who, undismayed, issued her orders with tranquillity, animated her people to resistance, and employed every resource which her situation afforded. Sir Robert Sydney was sent by her into Scotland, to exhort the king to continue steady in his attachment to England against the common enemy. James, sufficiently disposed to observe the conduct recommended to him, held himself prepared to march with the whole force of his kingdom to the aid of his ally. The king of Denmark also, upon application from Elizabeth, with whom religion formed between them a mutual tie, was engaged to seize a squadron of ships, bought or hired by Philip, in the Danish harbours. The Hanse Towns were, from the same motive, induced to retard so long the equipment of some vessels in their ports, that they became useless for the purpose of invading England. This enterprise was regarded as critical by the protestants throughout Europe, whose attention was fixed on the conduct and fortune of Elizabeth; and who beheld, with mingled anxiety and admiration, the intrepid countenance with which she expected the tempest, which, dark and threatening, impended over her head.

Being sensible that the firmest support of her throne, next to the popularity which she enjoyed, and the confidence placed by her subjects in the prudence of her government, con-

sisted in the zeal of the people for the protestant cause, and their prejudices against popery, she was careful, on this occasion, to strengthen these dispositions. The English were reminded of the former tyranny of Spain, and the cruelties exercised by Mary, at the instigation of that bigotted and imperious nation. The massacres in the Indies, the executions in the Low-countries, and the iniquities of the Inquisition, were placed before their eyes. A list and description, with pictures, was published and circulated, of the several instruments of torture, with which, it was affirmed, the armada was loaded. Every motive was urged, and every artifice employed, that could excite the people to a vigorous resistance.

But while the national animosity was roused against popery, its professors were treated with moderation by the queen: notwithstanding the excommunication of the pope, who had fulminated against her a new bull, she did her catholic subjects the justice to believe, that they could not all be so infatuated, as to sacrifice to bigotry the liberty and independence of their native country. She wisely rejected those violent councils, by which she was urged to seek pretences for dispatching the leaders of the Romanist party; nor would she even restrain any considerable number of them. The catholics, sensible of this liberal and politic conduct, expressed generally the utmost zeal for the public defence. Several gentlemen of their number, conscious that they ought not to expect any office of trust, entered themselves as volunteers in the army and navy: some equipped vessels at their own charge, giving the command of them to protestants; while others were active in animating their vassals and neighbours to the defence of their country. All ranks of men seemed, for the present, to bury in oblivion party distinctions, and to prepare to resist with vigour the attack of the enemy.

Elizabeth, to excite the martial spirit of the nation, appeared on horseback in the camp at Tilbury, and, riding through the lines, with a cheerful and animated countenance, exhorted the soldiers to remember the duty they owed to their country and to their religion; professing, at the same time, her intentions, though a woman, to lead them herself against the enemy, and to perish in the field, rather than to survive the ruin and slavery of her country. She revived, by the spirit and

courage she displayed, the affection and admiration of the soldiery: an attachment to her person rose into a species of enthusiasm among the troops, who inquired of each other, whether it were possible that Englishmen could abandon this glorious cause, and show less courage than appeared in the female sex, or be induced, by any perils, to relinquish the defence of their heroic queen.

The armada was ready for sailing the beginning of May, 1588, when its admiral, the marquis of Santa Croce, was seized with a fever, which terminated in his death, The vice-admiral suffered, at the same time, the same fate. A nobleman of the first family in Spain, the duke of Medina Sidonia, a man inexperienced in action, and unacquainted with naval affairs, was, in consequence of these accidents, appointed to the command of the fleet. The sailing of the armada being thus retarded, the English had more time for their preparations.

At length the fleet, full of hope, and anticipating triumph, set sail from Lisbon. A violent tempest rose on the next day, which scattered the ships, sunk some of the smallest, and compelled the rest to take shelter in the Groyne, where they remained to refit. Elizabeth, on receiving this news, concluded that the design of an invasion was at least frustrated for this summer. Always attentive to economy, she made Walsingham write to the admiral, to lay up some of the larger ships, and to discharge the seamen. Lord Effingham, less sanguine in his expectations, intreated to be permitted to retain the ships in service, even though at his own expense; while, taking advantage of a north wind, he sailed towards the Spanish coast, with an intention of attacking the enemy in their harbours. The wind changing, he became apprehensive lest the fleet should passs him at sea, and assail the undefended coast of England. With this fear he returned with expedition to Plymouth.

The armada had, in the mean time, repaired her damages, and, with new hopes, set out again in prosecution of her enterprise. The fleet contained an immense force, and was victualled for six months. According to the plan formed by Philip, it was to sail to the coast opposite to Dunkirk and Newport; and, having chased away the English vessels, join the duke of Parma; thence the combined forces were to sail up the Thames, and, landing, complete at one blow the conquest of the country.

Orders were given to the duke of Medina, that, in passing the Channel, he should sail as far to the coast of France as would be consistent with safety; that he should avoid encountering the English fleet, and neglect smaller successes, which might prove an obstacle, or interpose a delay, to the acquisition of the kingdom. The armada took up on her way a fisherman, who informed the Spaniards, that the English admiral had been lately to sea, had heard of the tempest which had scattered their vessels, had put back, and, no longer expecting an invasion, had laid up his ships, and discharged the greater part of his men. The duke of Medina, from this false intelligence, conceiving that he might with facility destroy the enemy's ships in their harbour, was tempted to break his orders, and to sail directly for Plymouth; a resolution which proved the safety of England.

The Lizard was the first land made by the armada about sun-set: the Spaniards, taking it for the Ram-head near Plymouth, bore out again to sea, intending to return on the ensuing day and attack the English fleet. A Scotch pirate, roving in these seas, having descred them set sail to inform the English admiral of their approach. Effingham had just time to get out of port, when he beheld the armada coming full sail towards him, in the form of a crescent, and stretching seven miles from the extremity of one division to the other.

Effingham gave orders to avoid a close fight with the Spaniards, the size of whose ships, and the number of whose soldiers, would, he suspected, prove a disadvantage, to the English, but to cannonade them at a distance, and to wait the opportunity, which various chances might afford, of intercepting some of their scattered vessels. This caution proved successful. A large ship of Biscay, containing a considerable part of the Spanish money, was by accident set on fire, and fell behind the rest of the fleet. A great galleon was also detained by the springing of her mast. Both these vessels were, after some resistance, taken by sir Francis Drake. As the armada advanced up the Channel, it was harassed by the English, who hung upon its rear. The confidence of the Spaniards abated on every trial, while the courage of their adversaries rose in proportion. Even in close fight the size of the Spanish proved to them no advantage, but exposed them the more to the fire of the ene-

my, over whose heads their cannon shot. The alarm having at length reached the coast, the nobility and gentry poured out, with their vessels, from every harbour, to reinforce the admiral, whose fleet amounted to an hundred and forty sail.

The armada having reached Calais, cast anchor, in expectation of the duke of Parma, when, through a stratagem practised by the English admiral, they were utterly discomfited. Effingham, taking eight of his smallest vessels, filled them with combustibles, and sent them, one after the other, into the midst of the enemy. The Spaniards, fancying that they were fire-ships, of a similar construction with a famous vessel which had lately done great execution in the Scheld, instantly cut their cables, and took to flight with precipitation and disorder. The English fell on them in the morning, while in the midst of their confusion, and, beside doing them great damage, took and destroyed twelve of their ships.

The blow proved decisive. The vessels provided by the duke of Parma were intended for transports, not for fighting. The duke, when urged to leave the harbour, refused to expose his army to such apparent hazard, while the English not merely kept the sea, but even seemed to triumph over the enemy. The Spanish admiral, in many rencounters, in which he lost a considerable part of his own navy, had destroyed only one small English vessel. Foreseeing the consequences of continuing the warfare, he prepared to return homewards.

The winds proving contrary to his passage through the Channel he resolved to sail northwards, and making the tour of the island, to reach the Spanish harbours by the ocean. The English fleet followed him for a time, and, but for their ammunition falling short, through the negligence of the officers who supplied them, had compelled the whole armada to surrender at discretion. Once had the Spanish admiral taken that resolution, from which he was diverted by the advice of his confessor.

A catastrophe, less glorious to the English, but equally fatal to Spain, ensued. The armada, no more *invincible*, was overtaken, after it had passed the Orkneys, by a violent tempest. The ships, having already lost their anchors, were obliged to keep the sea: the sailors unaccustomed to such hardships, and unable to manage their unweildy vessels, yielded to

the fury of the storm, and suffered them to be driven either on the Western isles of Scotland, or on the coast of Ireland, where they were miserably wrecked. Not half of the navy returned to Spain, when the seamen and soldiers, dispirited by hardships, by fatigue, and by discomfiture, gave marvellous accounts of the valour of the English, and of the tempestuous ocean by which they were surrounded.

Such was the conclusion of an enterprise which had taken three years for preparation, which had exhausted the force of Spain, and impoverished its revenues, and which had filled all Europe with anxiety and dismay. Philip, when informed of the frustration of his plans, fell on his knees, with a perfect command of countenance, and thanked Providence that his calamity was not greater. The priests, who had predicted infallible success to this holy crusade, which they had encouraged and blessed, were at a loss to account for its failure, and for the triumph of heretics and an execrable usurper. But they at length fortunately discovered, that the disasters of the Spaniards were to be attributed to their toleration of the infidel Moors.

On the 4th of September, soon after these events, died the earl of Leicester, the great but unworthy favourite of Elizabeth, whose attachment to him continued to the last moment of his life. She had entrusted to him the command of her armies during the Spanish invasion; a confidence which, had the duke of Parma effected a landing, might have proved fatal to England, since he had discovered no conduct in any of his military expeditions; and even his personal courage was doubtful. She had also constituted him her lieutenant in the kingdoms of England and Ireland, but her ministers having represented to her the danger of such a measure, she suffered herself to be dissuaded from her purpose. But her affection for Leicester reached no farther than the grave. After his decease, she ordered his goods to be publicly sold, to reimburse herself for a debt which he owed to her. The earl had been a great hypocrite, a pretender to religion, an encourager of the puritans, and a founder of hospitals.

February 4th, 1589, the queen summoned a new parliament, and received from them, for the first time a double subsidy in one supply; a concession probably obtained from

the joy of the late success, and a conviction of the necessities of the crown.

Elizabeth, foreseeing the influence of the puritans over the house, renewed her injunctions, at the commencement of the session, that they should not presume to treat of ecclesiastical affairs. Notwithstanding this prohibition, one member was moved by his zeal, to present a bill to the Commons, for restraining the enormous tyranny of the ecclesiastical commission. But no one, when reminded by the secretary of her majesty's commands, ventured to second the motion; so absolute was the authority of the throne. Some members, notwithstanding this submission, were committed to custody on account of the attempt.

The imperious temper of the queen was, by another transaction, made yet more evident. The officers of the crown were entitled, by an ancient prerogative, to the right of purveyance, or of taking provisions for the household from all the neighbouring counties; they could even press into the service any carts or carriages. The price of these services was stated, the payment distant, and often uncertain, and the rates always inferior to the market price.* A privilege of this nature could scarcely fail of being abused, and the Commons had found it necessary, in the last session, to pass a bill for the regulation of these exactions. The bill had been lost in the upper house, but, from the continuance of the evil, was now revived, and sent again to the peers, together with a proposal for some regulations in the exchequer. The Commons were soon after desired by the lords to appoint a committee for a conference; in which they were informed, that the queen had, by a message, delivered by lord Burleigh, expressed her displeasure,

* In connexion with the subject of purveyance, a curious anecdote is given by Osborne in his Memoirs. One of the purveyors having acted with great injustice, in the county of Kent, a farmer, who had been oppressed by him, went to the palace at Greenwich, and watched the hour when the queen was accustomed to take her morning walk. 'Pray which is the queen?' cried he aloud, on perceiving her. 'I am your queen,' replied Elizabeth courteously; 'what would you have with me?' 'You,' exclaimed the farmer, 'are one of the rarest women I ever saw, and can eat no more than my daughter Madge, who is thought the properest lass in the parish, though far short of you. But that queen Elizabeth I look for, devours so many of my ducks, hens, and capons, as I am not able to live.' The queen, gratified by the rustic compliment inquired the name of the purveyor, and caused him to be hanged.

that they should presume to touch on her prerogative, in which, did any abuses exist, she was herself both able and willing to effect a reformation. But she would not permit the parliament to intermeddle in these matters. The Commons, alarmed at this intelligence, appointed a new committee to attend the queen, and satisfy her of their humble and dutiful intentions. To this apology, Elizabeth gave a gracious reception, and expressed her great, *inestimable*, *loving care*, towards her loving subjects, which, she declared, 'was greater than of her own-self, or even than any of them could have of themselves.' She informed them, that she had already given orders for an inquiry into the abuses of purveyance, but the Spanish invasion had retarded the progress of the business; that she had as much skill, will, and power, to rule her own household, as any subjects whatsoever to govern theirs, and needed as little the assistance of her neighbours. That the exchequer was her chamber, consequently nearer to her even than her household, and therefore the less proper for their interference; that she would of herself, with the advice of her council and judges, redress every grievance, but would not permit *them*, by laws moved without her privity, to bereave her of the honour attending these regulations. This contest between Elizabeth and her parliament ended like those by which it had been preceded. Yet the abuses of purveyance had been redressed by law under her predecessors; even the arbitrary Edward III. had allowed ten statutes to be enacted for the purpose.

So profound was the awe of the Commons for the crown, that it restrained all freedom of speech: sir Edward Hobby expressed his grief, that he had been, by some great personage, not a member of the house, sharply reprimanded for speeches delivered in parliament. He craved favour of the house, and requested that some of its members would inform that great personage of his true meaning. To obviate these inconveniences, a vote was passed that no one should reveal the secrets of the house.

The enthusiasm produced by the defeat of the armada, occasioned about this time a romantic enterprise against Portugal, in which the young earl of Essex, a nobleman of great promise, distinguished himself by his thirst of military honour. Several advantages were gained, and ships taken and destroyed.

in the course of this adventure; which failed however in its principal object, the effecting a revolution in the court of Portugal. England gained more honour than profit by the expedition, in which by sickness, famine, fatigue, and the sword, more than half of the adventurers perished. It was computed that, out of eleven hundred gentlemen who embarked in this enterprise, three hundred and fifty only returned.

Elizabeth, notwithstanding the signal advantages which she had gained, and the spirit they had excited in the nation, still regarded Scotland with an anxious eye. The many circumstances which had combined to calm her apprehensions respecting the Scottish affairs, failed to remove the habitual jealousy by which her mind had been so often agitated. Far from satisfying the nation by settling the succession, or acknowledging the title of James, she regarded him as her rival and competitor, and was still solicitous to depress his credit with the English. The greater number of his ministers and favourites she held in pay, and obliged them to throw obstacles in the way of their monarch's marriage. This absurdity to require no policy was carried so far, as to cross a negotiation between James and the Danish monarch, whose daughter the parliament Scots wished to espouse. The lady, in just resentment upon delays opposed to the business, was given by her father to the duke of Brunswick. James then offered himself to their house, daughter, but still found obstacles to his suit from the [illegible] of Elizabeth, who, merely to perplex the affair, proposed to him a sister of the king of Navarre, a princess elder than himself, and destitute of fortune. The impatience of the monarch at length broke through these toils; the marriage articles were settled; the ceremony performed by proxy, and the lady embarked on her way to Scotland, when a tempest drove her into a port of Norway, whither James repaired to conduct home his bride. They passed the winter together at Copenhagen, and returned in the spring to Scotland, where they were received by the people with demonstrations of joy.

The conclusion of Elizabeth's anxieties and difficulties at length seemed to have arrived: all danger of a revolution was now removed, though her situation still afforded employment for her active mind. The admiration of foreigners, and the attachment of her people, she had, by her prudent administra-

tion, excited and secured: since the death of Mary, even the catholics disputed not her title to the throne: James, curbed by his nobles and ecclesiastics, possessed at home but little authority, and was solicitous to preserve the good-will of England, through which he looked for a rich inheritance. From the affairs of the continent, since the destruction of the armada, there was but little to fear: the setting sun of Elizabeth, after its meridian splendors, promised a mild and radiant decline.

The king of France having perished by the hand of an assassin, was succeeded by the king of Navarre, the great and good Henry IV. Elizabeth, who had long been his ally, continued her resolution of supporting him in his title; a resolution confirmed by some advantages gained by Spain. Having sent over a body of troops, at the request of Henry, to assist him in expelling the leaguers from Normandy, the earl of Essex was appointed to the command; a young nobleman, whose ex- ...lishments, and real merit, daily advanced him in deliv... queen, who appeared to have given him that to call ...fections which had been so long occupied by the sent to ... ter.

moning ... military operations in France, which were at- ...ed with various success, Elizabeth employed her naval Yet the the annoyance of Spain, whose West-Indian treasures ...ured to intercept. A squadron of seven ships was fitted out for this service; but Philip, aware of its purpose, dispatched a navy of fifty-five sail to escort the Indian fleet. These ships fell in with the English squadron, and, through the obstinate valour of the vice-admiral, sir Richard Grenville, who refused to save himself by flight, took one ship, the first English man-of-war that had fallen into the hands of the Spaniards.

The remainder of the English squadron returned safe, though frustrated in their attempt, pleased with the idea of having annoyed the enemy. The Indian fleet, the prize contested for, detained by these events, sailed at an improper season, when the greater number of the vessels suffered shipwreck. The earl of Cumberland made an expedition, which proved not more successful, against the Spanish trade. The spirit of these adventures prevailing in England, sir Walter Raleigh,

whose favour with the queen had begun to decline, determined to recover his influence by some great undertaking, and persuaded numbers to engage with him as volunteers in an attempt on the West Indies. Detained in the Channel by contrary winds, he lost the season, and was recalled by Elizabeth. Others succeeded to him; many rich prizes were taken, among them two millions of bulls for indulgences; useless indeed to the protestants, but which had cost the king of Spain three hundred thousand florins, and would have been sold by him in the Indies for five millions. So lucrative has the trade of superstition been found.

Spain suffered great damage from this war, which also proved burthensome to England. It was computed by the ministers of Elizabeth, that she had expended in Flanders and in France, and on her naval expeditions, more than one million two hundred thousand pounds; a charge, notwithstanding her frugality, too heavy for her narrow revenues: she therefore summoned a parliament to obtain a supply. Whether she thought her prerogative so well established as to require no concessions on her part, or whether she valued power more than money, it is certain that she never treated any parliament with more haughtiness, or trampled more contemptuously upon their privileges. When the speaker made the usual demands, of freedom from arrests, of access to the person of the queen, and of liberty of speech, she replied to him by the lord-keeper, that liberty of speech was granted to the Commons, but not a liberty for every one to speak what he listeth, or what cometh into his brain to utter: their privilege extended no farther than a liberty of aye or no. That she enjoined the speaker, should he perceive any idle heads so negligent of their own safety, as to attempt reforming the church, or innovating in the commonwealth, that he should refuse any bills for that purpose, till they were examined by such as were fitter to consider and judge of them.

The intrepid Wentworth, notwithstanding this rebuke, ventured to transgress the imperial commands of the queen, by presenting a petition, in which he entreated both houses to join in supplication to her majesty, for entailing the succession of the crown. He was immediately committed to the Tower; and sir Thomas Bromley, by whom he had been seconded, to the

Fleet-prison, together with two other members, to whom sir Thomas had communicated his intention. A fortnight after, a motion was made in the house to petition the queen for the release of the members. It was answered by her privy-counsellors, that her majesty had committed them for causes best known to herself, and that to press her on the subject would prejudice the gentlemen they meant to serve. The queen would release them when she thought it right; and would be better pleased to do it of her own proper motion than from their suggestion. In this reasoning the house acquiesced.

But the zeal of the puritans was not to be thus restrained. Enthusiasm inspires a courage that rises superior to common motives, and defeats every calculation. Morrice, attorney of the court of wards, made a motion for redressing the abuses in the bishop's courts, and, above all, in the high commission. This motion some of the members seconded, though warned of the consequences by the ministers and privy-counsellors. The queen sent for the speaker, and, having required him to deliver Morrice's bill, informed him, that it was in her power to call parliaments, to dissolve them, and to give assent or dissent to any of their determinations. That her purpose in summoning this parliament was two-fold: to have laws enacted for the farther enforcement of uniformity in religion, and to provide for the defence of the nation against the exorbitant power of Spain. That these points ought to be the objects of their deliberations. That she had already enjoined them to meddle neither with matters of state, nor with religion; and she wondered at their presumption to attempt a subject in express contradiction to her prohibitions. That she was highly offended with them, and took this opportunity to reiterate her commands, and to require that no bill, regarding either state affairs, or ecclesiastical reformation, should be exhibited in the house. In particular, she charged the speaker, on his allegiance, to refuse reading any such bills, and not so much as to permit them to be debated by the members. These orders were, without farther question, submitted to: Morrice was seized in the house by a serjeant at arms, discharged from his office of chancellor of the dutchy, disabled from practising as a common lawyer, and imprisoned for some years in Tilbury castle.

The Commons obsequiously observed all that was exacted from them, and passed a rigid law against recusants; a law suited to the severe character of Elizabeth, and to the intolerant spirit of the times. This law imposed by the authority of the queen, and which bore not less hard upon the puritans than on the catholics, was contrary to the private sentiments and inclinations of the majority of the house: it nevertheless passed with but little opposition. The grant of subsidies was the most important business of this parliament, the war with Spain having reduced the queen to great necessity. Her high spirit, notwithstanding this dependence, was not to be controlled; but beneath a tone of assumed superiority real weakness often lurks. The sum voted by the Commons, of two subsidies and four fifteenths, appearing inadequate to the court, a curious expedient was used to induce them to enlarge their concession. The lower house was, in a conference, informed by the upper, that they could not assent to the voted supply, as being two small for the queen's occasions. A grant was therefore proposed by them of three subsidies and six fifteenths. The Commons, offended by this invasion of their privilege, rejected at first a conference on the subject; but, on reflection, fearful of giving umbrage to the superior powers, they agreed to the conference, and afterwards voted the additional supply.

Elizabeth, notwithstanding this concession, concluded the session with some reprimands, and the same high pretensions which she had assumed on its commencement. She expressed her displeasure that the members paid not due reverence to her privy-counsellors, 'who were not to be accounted as common knights and burgesses of the house, counsellors only during the sitting of parliament, but as standing counsellors, called, for their wisdom and great services, to the council of the state.' She took notice also, that the members spent more time than was necessary, in indulging themselves in harangues and reasonings. She spoke of the justice and moderation of her government, of the small ambition she had ever entertained of making conquests, displayed the grounds of her quarrel with Spain, and expressed, with spirit, the little apprehension which she felt of the power of the Spanish monarch, even though he should make a greater effort than that of his *invincible armada*. 'But I am informed,' added she, 'that, when

he attempted this last invasion, some upon the coasts forsook their town, fled up the country, and left all naked and exposed to his entrance. I swear unto you, by God, if I knew those persons, or if I should hereafter know them, I will make them feel what it is to be fearful in so urgent a cause.' It is supposed that, by this menace, she hinted at the exercise of martial law upon cowardice.

The king of France, about this period (1593), from political and prudential considerations, abjured protestantism, and returned to the catholic church. Elizabeth affected displeasure on this occasion, and addressed to Henry an angry letter: she however listened to his apologies, continued her succour, and formed with him a new treaty against Spain, their common enemy, by which it was stipulated, never to make peace but by mutual agreement.

The Spanish court, by its intrigues, and with the aid of money, excited in Scotland new disorders, and gave to Elizabeth fresh alarms. A dangerous conspiracy was discovered of some catholic noblemen, abetted by Philip. James requested assistance of the queen of England in the prosecution of this affair: but, notwithstanding their common interest in the cause, she refused her aid. She hated James, both as her heir, and as the son of Mary, her detested rival. Far from contributing to his relief on this occasion, she rather increased his vexations, by countenancing the earl of Bothwell, a turbulent man, and a descendant from a natural son of James V. Having more than once attempted to render himself master of the king's person, Bothwell had taken shelter in England, where he was secretly protected by the queen.

The power and prosperity of Elizabeth secured her alike from mutinous attempts among her subjects, and from the machinations of her foreign enemies. Roderigo Lopez, a jew, and domestic physician to the queen, having been imprisoned on suspicion, confessed that he had received a bribe to poison her, but insisted that he meant only to cheat Philip of his money, and not to fulfil his engagement. He however suffered death, and Elizabeth complained with justice, but without obtaining satisfaction, of these dishonourable attempts. She sought a more open and generous vengeance, by supporting

the king of France, and assisting him to break the league. The English, on these occasions, discovered a martial spirit, which inspired them with a temerity, that their queen, though herself a heroine, was sometimes obliged to reprove.

A new threat of an invasion compelled her to recal her forces, to be more sparing of the blood and treasure of her people, and to leave Henry, whose enemies were nearly vanquished, to the resources of his own genius. Some disgusts which she had received from the states, joined to the remonstrances of the frugal Burleigh, inclined her to withdraw from them her aid, and even to demand a reimbursement of the money she had spent on their account. They pleaded poverty to this requisition, alleged their former treaty, and, at length, after much negotiation, prevailed on the queen to form with them a new one, on conditions advantageous to England. Elizabeth took care to retain in her hands the cautionary towns, as a check on the rising power of the states. She committed the charge of Flushing, an important place, to sir Francis Vere, a brave officer, distinguished in the Low-countries for his valour, in preference to Essex, who had expected this honourable command. The latter daily rose in reputation, and in favour with the queen, but, reserved in the advancement of her courtiers, she thought proper, on this occasion, to give him a refusal. Another treaty was also entered into with France, in which the former engagements were ratified and renewed.

If Elizabeth had, at a great expense of blood and treasure, made war against Philip, both in France and the Low-countries, the most effectual blows to the Spanish greatness were given by the English navy. In 1597, sir Francis Drake and sir John Hawkins undertook an important enterprise against the Spanish settlements. But, taught by experience, Spain had learned better to guard against these bold adventures: preparations were every where made to receive them, and they were obliged to return with their purpose uneffected. From the intemperance of the climate, combined with vexation and fatigue, Drake soon after expired. If the Spaniards suffered loss from these expeditions, the English reaped no advantage.

Their failure in the Indies determined them on attempting the Spanish dominions in Europe, where preparations were making to invade England anew. A powerful fleet, consisting

of an hundred and seventy vessels, and containing a large body of soldiers, was equipped at Plymouth. The earl of Effingham was appointed high-admiral, and to Essex was given the command of the land-forces. Both the earls had, in the spirit of Elizabeth's reign, expended great sums of their own upon this armament. On the 1st of June, 1596, the fleet set sail, and with a fair wind bent its course to Cadiz, where the general rendezvous was appointed. Armed tenders, sent before them, intercepted every ship that could carry intelligence to the enemy. Near Cadiz they took an Irish vessel, from which they learned, that the port was full of merchant ships of great value, and that the Spaniards, in perfect security, dreamed not of an enemy. Encouraged by this intelligence, they predicted to their enterprise a fortunate issue. After a fruitless attempt to land on the western side of Cadiz, it was resolved in a council of war to attack the ships in the bay. The admiral, cautious in his temper, had scrupled this attempt, impetuously urged by Essex, as perilous and rash. Essex having at length prevailed, threw his hat into the sea, and expressed the most extravagant joy. This rapture was however checked when he was informed by Effingham, that the queen, solicitous for his safety, and dreading the effects of his youthful ardour, had given private orders that he should not be permitted, in the attack, to command the van; a duty which was given to sir Walter Raleigh, and lord Thomas Howard. Essex, however, when in reach of the enemy, forgot his engagement, and gallantly pressed forward into the thickest of the fire. The enemy were soon compelled to a farther retreat into the bay, where many of their ships were run aground. Essex then, landing with his men at the fort of Puntal, marched to the attack of Cadiz, which was carried sword in hand. The generosity of this young man, not inferior to his courage, made him stop the carnage, and treat his prisoners with humanity and kindness. A rich plunder was made of the city, but a richer was lost by the resolution of the Spanish admiral, who caused the ships to be set on fire, to prevent them from falling into the hands of the enemy. The loss sustained by the Spaniards from this enterprise was computed at twenty millions of ducats; while the pride of Spain was humbled by the indignity which it had suffered.

This achievement, however considerable, failed to satisfy the ardent spirit of Essex, who, athirst for glory, regarded it but as the threshold to future enterprises. He insisted on keeping possession of Cadiz, and engaged to defend it, with four hundred men, and three months' provisions, till succours should arrive from England. But the troops and seamen, content with their acquisitions, were eager to return home to secure their plunder. Various other proposals of Essex for annoying the enemy met with a similar reception. The English at length, finding it impossible to draw this young hero from the enemy, left him on the coast of Spain, with a very few ships. He complained to the queen of their want of spirit and enterprise, but their success in Cadiz covered all their miscarriages. Elizabeth, though pleased with the lofty genius of Essex, could not refuse her esteem to his fellow-officers. The admiral was created earl of Nottingham, a promotion that gave disgust to Essex, who took wholly to himself the merit of the success at Cadiz; an assumption which he offered to maintain in single combat against the earl or any of his kindred.

The enterprises of the following year were less fortunate, yet the English, by their naval power, continued to advance in superiority over Spain; an advantage which Philip sensibly felt. A powerful fleet was fitted out by England, of which Essex was made commander-in-chief, and which was destined to attack a new armada, prepared by Spain for the invasion of Ireland. No sooner had the vessels quitted the harbour, than they were shattered and dispersed by a furious tempest. This accident gave a turn to the enterprise, which was now confined to what had been at first but a secondary purpose, the intercepting of the Indian fleet. In the course of this expedition, which failed of ultimate success, a quarrel took place between Essex and sir Walter Raleigh, who had anticipated, in an attack on the Azores, the arrival of the commander-in-chief, and thus robbed him of a part of his glory. A seeming accommodation, by the interference of lord Howard, was effected between them, but the foundation of a lasting animosity was laid.

Through the inexperience of Essex in nautical affairs, the Spanish fleet escaped; three ships only were intercepted by the English, the riches of which sufficed to repay the expenses

of the expedition. The causes of the miscarriage of Essex became a subject of dispute and party on his return to England: among the courtiers, many espoused the part of Raleigh; but the people in general, delighted with the courage, the generosity, and the gallantry of his young adversary, ranged themselves on the side of Essex. The queen, esteeming the former, and attached to the latter, maintained a neutrality, and divided her favours impartially between them. Essex was made earl-marshal of England; a dignity which had been vacant for some time back. With a temper too high for submission, and a mind too candid for artifice, the free sallies of the earl-marshal, while they interested the discerning and the good, laid him but too open to the machinations of his enemies.

The finances of Elizabeth having been exhausted by the war with Spain, she was obliged to assemble a parliament (October 24, 1597). Three subsidies and six fifteenths were granted to her by the Commons, a supply which had been given four years before; but which at that time appeared so unusual, that parliament had voted, that it was never afterwards to be regarded as a precedent.

Two controversies took place this session, between the two houses respecting their forms; a prelude, as it should seem, to those attacks which the Commons afterwards made on the royal prerogative. An application was also made to the queen, by way of petition, from the lower house, against monopolies, the abuses of which had risen to an enormous height. Elizabeth gave to this address a gracious though general answer; but, at the dissolution of parliament, informed the members, "That with regard to these patents, she hoped her dutiful and loving subjects would not take away her prerogative, the chief flower in her garden, and the principal and head pearl in her crown and diadem; but that they would leave these matters to her disposal." The Commons also took notice, this session, of some transactions in the court of high commission, but not till they had previously received the permission of Elizabeth.

The queen now foresaw the necessity of parliamentary supplies, since the whole burthen of the Spanish war must henceforth lay on England. The king of France had received from Philip overtures of peace; but, before he would proceed

to a negotiation, he gave notice to his allies, England and the states, that a general pacification might, probably, be made by common consent and agreement. Elizabeth and the states remonstrated with Henry, by their ambassadors, on this occasion, but without success. France, exhausted by long wars and civil dissensions, was necessitated to come to an accommodation with its enemies. The king, who felt for Elizabeth, to whom a sympathy of talents and sentiments united him, the most cordial esteem and gratitude, used every expedient in his power to apologise to her, and to atone for a measure which circumstances had compelled him to adopt. But as Spain refused to treat with the Dutch as a free state, and as the queen of England would not negotiate without her ally, Henry was, to procure for himself leisure for the settlement of his affairs, obliged to conclude a separate peace.

Elizabeth was sensible that it was in her power, whenever she should think proper, to finish, upon equitable terms, the war with Philip, who had been foiled in every contest. By several of her counsellors, particularly the lord-treasurer, she was advised to such a measure; but, though at first averse to war, her high spirit, flattered by the ascendant she had gained over the enemy, and unwilling to check the course of her prosperous fortunes, made her now reluctant to conclude a peace. Her past victories and present situation seemed to secure her against any formidable invasion: her naval superiority, and the riches and weakness of Philip in the Indies, afforded both to her ambition and her avarice a tempting bait. To these considerations was added, concern for the Netherlands, whose defence had been the original cause of her rupture with Spain; and who, should she put an end to the war, would be exposed, unprotected, to the whole power of the Spanish monarchy.

Essex was urgent to give force to these reasons by the most earnest supplications: enamoured of fame, and conscious of his military talents, he ardently desired the continuance of hostilities, which pointed out to him the road of advantage and distinction. The jealousy which subsisted between him and Burleigh, led each of them to insist the more strenuously on their own counsels: while the former, whose advice was more conformable to the inclinations of the queen, and whose personal favour daily received increase, seemed likely to tri-

umph over the prudence of his adversary. If, with the brilliant qualities of Essex, more caution and self-command had been blended, he would have rivetted himself firmly in the favour of Elizabeth; but to that implicit deference which her temper required, he found himself incapable of submitting. Engaged, at one time, in a dispute with her respecting the choice of a governor for Ireland, he forgot, in the heat of argument, the laws both of politeness and respect, and turned his back upon her with an air of contempt. Her resentment rising to repel the insult, she instantly, with a passionate expression, which his impertinence provoked, gave him a box on the ear. Instead of recollecting her station and sex, he clapped his hand to his sword, and, swearing he would not bear such treatment, even were it from Henry VIII. himself, withdrew in a transport of anger, from the court. Egerton, the chancellor, by whom he was beloved, exhorted him to repair, by acknowledgments, his indiscretion; and implored him in a letter not to give sorrow to his friends, and triumph to his enemies, by contesting with his sovereign, and deserting the service of his country. Essex, deeply wounded, and conceiving himself dishonoured, declared, in reply, that an insult which might be pardoned in a woman, was a mortal affront when it came from a queen.

The spirited letter which he wrote on the occasion, was shown by Essex to his friends, who, having taken copies, imprudently dispersed them. Elizabeth's partiality for the earl, led her, nevertheless, to reinstate him in her favour, and to shower upon him new kindnesses. The death of lord Burleigh, which happened soon after, seemed to ensure to Essex full possession of her confidence, which his own indiscretion only could henceforward shake.

Burleigh, an able and successful minister, died at an advanced age, equally regretted by the nation and the queen. He had risen gradually by his merit, and had, for near forty years, faithfully served Elizabeth as her chief minister. During the reign of her sister, when it was dangerous to appear her friend, Burleigh had payed to her assiduous court, which she had thought herself bound gratefully to recompense; nor could any other partiality or affection ever supersede him in her confidence. Probity of manners, application to business, and a solid understanding, distinguished this minister, rather

than shining talents. Of all the ministers of Elizabeth, he only left to his posterity a considerable fortune, acquired, not by rapine or oppression, but by the regular profits of his office. His last act was the concluding a new treaty with the Dutch, who, deserted by France, were willing on any terms to preserve the friendship of England. By this treaty, the queen was relieved from an annual charge of an hundred and twenty thousand pounds.

Soon after the decease of Burleigh, Elizabeth was informed of the death of her enemy, Philip II.; who, languishing under many infirmities, expired, at an advanced age, at Madrid, 1598.

The dominion of the English over Ireland, though hitherto little more than nominal, had been established above four centuries. Neglected and oppressed, sunk in ignorance and barbarism, Ireland groaned under complicated evils and injuries. Their animosity against their oppressors produced perpetual insurrections and disorders, which, by the absurd and inadequate measures taken to suppress them, were continually aggravated and inflamed. The usual revenue of Ireland amounted but to six thousand pounds per annum, to which Elizabeth, not without repining, commonly added twenty thousand more. With this slender revenue, a body of one thousand men was supported, which, in great emergencies, was augmented to two thousand. So disproportioned a force served rather to irritate than to subdue the natives, and to increase the calamities to which they were a prey. The disorders having at length arrived to a formidable height, it was resolved to adopt more vigorous measures. Lord Mountjoy, a student rather than a warrior, was, on this occasion, selected by the queen as a man endowed with talents equal to the undertaking. But Essex, ambitious of glory, and desirous of obtaining the office for himself, opposed his nomination; while he represented to the queen, the necessity of appointing to the government of Ireland, some person more experienced in military affairs, more practised in business, and of higher rank and reputation. His meaning was not difficult to understand; and his wishes were no sooner known, than his enemies, even yet more zealously than his friends, conspired to give them effect. His friends were of opinion, that he ought not to accept an employment

that was likely to absent him, except for a very short period, from the presence of the queen, lest his personal interest should be the forfeit. His enemies, on the contrary, indulged the hope, that should Elizabeth once have time to forget the graces of his person, and the charms of his conversation, she would soon be disgusted by his lofty and impetuous temper, and withdraw from him her confidence and attachment. Into these views the candid mind of Essex was incapable of penetrating; while the queen, desirous of subduing the Irish, and prepossessed with a notion of the genius of her favourite, readily agreed to appoint him to the government of Ireland, under the title of her lord-lieutenant. To encourage him the more in his enterprise, she granted to him an authority of greater extent than had ever before been conferred on any lieutenant. The power of carrying on, or of concluding, the war; of pardoning the rebels; and of filling the most considerable posts of the kingdom; was vested in him. For the purpose of ensuring him success, an army was levied of sixteen thousand foot, and thirteen hundred horse, which was afterwards augmented to twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse. This force, it was believed, must, in one campaign, overwhelm the rebels, and complete the conquest of Ireland.

The enemies of Essex beheld with secret pleasure the raised expectations of the queen, in the hope of a proportionate disappointment. With similar views, they echoed back the eulogiums of the friends of Essex, who expatiated, with enthusiasm, on his genius, his endowments, his courage, his generosity, and his noble birth: nor were they displeased with the passionate attachment which the people expressed for their favourite hero. These insidious politicians, having studied the character of their destined victim, perceived that, if to his open, manly, and spirited temper, reserve were taught by opposition, he would become invincible to their attacks. To his sails, already spread, they resolved to give breath, and to wreck him on the shoals towards which he was rapidly advancing. Spies were set upon the actions, and commissioned to watch the words, of a man whose dauntless and impetuous temper rendered him, even in the midst of courts, and surrounded by rivals, superior to suspicion, and a stranger to disguise.

In March, 1599, Essex quitted London, followed by the

acclamations of the people, and attended by a numerous body of the nobility and gentry, who had, from affection to his person, attached themselves to his fortune; and who proposed, under his auspices, to acquire military renown. His first step, on his arrival in his government, was an act of generous indiscretion. The earl of Southampton, his intimate friend, had, by a marriage contracted without her consent, displeased the queen. In resentment, she enjoined Essex not to employ him in any office under his command. In despite of this prohibition, the new lord-lieutenant thought fit to appoint his friend general of the horse. Elizabeth, irritated at the disobedience of her favourite, sharply reprimanded him, and ordered him to recal his commission to Southampton. Essex had the imprudence to remonstrate against these orders; nor, till after reiterated commands, could he be prevailed upon to displace his friend.

An error of a more serious import proved the ruin of his fortunes in Ireland. The very means he had condemned in former commanders, who had, by inconsiderable enterprises, harassed their troops, and protracted the war, he was, contrary to his instructions, induced by insidious counsels to adopt. The consequences of this conduct, disavowed by the wretches with whom it had originated, were sufficiently disastrous, and fell wholly upon Essex. Enraged at his ill success, and the misbehaviour of his troops, exhausted by tedious marches, and the sickliness of the climate, he cashiered all the officers of a considerable body, whom the resistance of the Irish had compelled to take to flight, and decimated the private men. By this severity he intimidated the soldiers, and increased their distaste to the service. The queen heard with disgust of the conduct of her favourite, and of the frivolous enterprises in which the season had been consumed. That Essex should persevere in the same conduct which he had blamed in his predecessors, and which he knew to be contrary to her purpose and instructions, excited at once her indignation and surprise.

Betrayed by farther indiscretions into perilous circumstances, Essex listened to proposals made to him by the insurgents, and concluded with Tyrone, their chief, a cessation of arms, renewable from period to period. The rebels also made [illegible]als for peace, in which were inserted some exorbitant

conditions. There is even reason to suspect that Essex, on this occasion, commenced with the enemy an imprudent and unjustifiable correspondence.

An issue so unforeseen to this great and expensive enterprise, irritated the mind of Elizabeth against Essex; a disgust which other parts of his conduct tended to augment. He addressed to the queen and council many letters, expressive of a haughty and discontented mind; complaining of his enemies, and that their calumnies should find credit. Elizabeth failed not to inform him, in return, of her dissatisfaction with his conduct, but commanded him to remain in Ireland till farther orders.

Essex, informed at the same time of the anger of the queen, and of the promotion of his enemies, and dreading that his longer absence would totally alienate from him the affections of Elizabeth, hastily resolved on an expedient, which had once availed the earl of Leicester, his predecessor, without considering the opposition of their characters, and that where the supple insinuation of Leicester might prevail, his own impetuous temper would more probably exasperate. Setting out immediately for England, he arrived at court, by rapid journeys, before any person suspected his intention. Covered with dirt and sweat, he hastened to the presence-chamber, thence to the privy-chamber, nor stopped till he was in the queen's bed-chamber; who, newly risen, was sitting with her hair about her face. Having thrown himself on his knees before her, he held with her some private conversation, and was so graciously received, that, on quitting her presence, he was heard to express his satisfaction, and to thank God, that, after his storms and troubles abroad, he had found at home a 'a sweet calm.'

But the placability of the queen was the result of her surprise, and of the momentary recollections and associations which the sudden sight of her favourite awakened in her mind. After having leisure for reflection, his faults recurred to her memory, and she conceived it necessary to subdue so intractable and haughty a spirit by severe discipline. On entering her presence in the afternoon, Essex perceived in her carriage a great alteration. She ordered him to be confined to his chamber, and to be twice examined by the council; after which, notwithstanding the calmness and submission of his answers,

she committed him to the custody of the lord-keeper, Egerton, and held him sequestered from all company, even from that of the countess his wife; nor was any intercourse of letters permitted between them. Essex, among the expressions of sorrow and humiliation which escaped him, was careful to suppress every appearance of resentment. He professed entire submission to the queen's will, declared his intention of retiring into the country, and, remote from courts and business, of leading thenceforth a private life. But, notwithstanding this seeming moderation, mortification and disappointment preyed on his mind, and threw him into a malady, that threatened to put a speedy end to his career.

That she meant to correct, but not to ruin him, had been repeatedly declared by Elizabeth; but, when informed of his situation, she testified the utmost alarm and solicitude. She ordered eight experienced physicians to hold a consultation on his case; and sent to him, with some broth, the following message by Dr. James, which she probably deemed of more efficacy than medicine: 'That, could she have thought such a step consistent with her honour, she would herself have paid him a visit.' In pronouncing these words, it was observed by the persons standing near, that her eyes were suffused with tears.

The enemies of Essex heard with alarm of these symptoms of the queen's returning attachment: sir Walter Raleigh, the most violent and most ambitious among them, was so affected by this sudden revolution, that he fell sick, in his turn, and received, in like manner, the balm of a kind message from the queen, who expressed her wishes for his restoration. The same remedy proved successful with each of these aspiring rivals. Essex, to whom the company of his countess was now allowed, and whose hopes began to revive, received daily accessions of health and strength, when it was hinted to Elizabeth, that his disorder had been feigned to excite her compassion: this insinuation failed not to produce its effect, and she resumed the rigour of her former conduct.

On the first day of the new year (1600), the earl, according to the custom of the court, sent to the queen a letter, accompanied by a rich present. She perused the former, but refused to accept the latter. At length, after some interval of severity,

she allowed him to retire to his own house; whence, though he still remained under custody, sequestered from society, he addressed to her an epistle expressive of his gratitude for the lenity he had experienced. The wife of Essex, who was the daughter of Walsingham, possessed the same refined taste for literature which distinguished her husband: in her society, and in perusing together the best authors, he found a solace for his anxiety, and agreeably beguiled the interval of expectation.

The anger of Elizabeth against her former favourite was kept awake by various incidents. His misconduct in the affairs of Ireland, and waste of force and treasure, appeared more obvious and glaring from every account which arrived. Tyrone had broken the truce, and, joining with the other rebels, had overrun the kingdom. He boasted of expected succours from Spain; assumed the character of champion of the catholic cause; and exulted in the present of a phœnix-plume, which the pope had, for his encouragement, consecrated and conferred upon him. To check his career, the queen resumed her former plan of appointing Mountjoy to the government; though, as the intimate friend of Essex, and desirous of his return to his post, he earnestly sought to excuse himself, and pleaded, as a reason, the bad state of his health. He was compelled nevertheless to accept of the employment; and, on taking possession of his office, found the affairs of the island in a state nearly desperate. By his vigour and capacity, he however conquered every difficulty, chased the Irish to their woods and morasses, and restored the authority of the queen. The contrast of his administration with that which had preceded it, contributed to alienate Elizabeth from her late favourite; a disgust which received increase by his popularity with the nation.

The people, still prepossessed with an extravagant notion of his merit, complained loudly of the injustice which he had suffered. Their partiality seemed to be increased rather than diminished by his misfortunes, which forcibly appealed to their generous sympathy. Libels were privately dispersed against Cecil, Raleigh, and all the enemies of Essex. With a view of justifying to the public her conduct towards him, Elizabeth had frequently expressed an intention of having him

tried in the star-chamber; but, her tenderness prevailing over her severity, she was content to have him only examined by the privy-council. Coke, the attorney-general, opened the cause against him, and treated him with that cruelty and insolence which he was accustomed to exercise against the unfortunate. He displayed, in strong colours, the faults committed by the culprit during his administration in Ireland, and exaggerated the errors of his conduct. In speaking of the conditions which Tyrone had been allowed to propose, 'Odious and abominable conditions!' said he; 'a public toleration of an idolatrous religion; pardon for himself and for every traitor in Ireland; with full restitution of lands and possessions.' The wretched situation in which he had left the island, was insisted upon by Fleming, the solicitor-general; while the charge was closed by Francis Bacon, who repeated and dwelt on the undutiful expressions contained in some letters written by the earl.

When the turn came to Essex to plead in his own behalf, he renounced, with humility and submission, all pretensions to an apology, and declared his resolution never to contest with his sovereign. Having severed himself from the world, and abjured all the sentiments of ambition, he had no scruple (he said) to confess every failing or error, into which he might have been betrayed by his youth, his folly, or his manifold infirmities. His inward sorrow for his offences against her majesty, he declared, was so profound, that it exceeded all his outward crosses and afflictions; nor had he any scruple to submit himself to a public confession of whatever she had been pleased to impute to him. He retained in his acknowledgments only one reserve, which he never would relinquish but with life, the assertion of a loyal and unpolluted heart, of an unfeigned affection, of an earnest desire ever to perform to her majesty the best service which his poor abilities would permit; and that, if this sentiment was recognized by the council, he willingly acquiesced in any condemnation or sentence, which they should think fit to pronounce against him. The pathetic eloquence with which he expressed his submission drew tears from many of the spectators.

The counsellors, in giving their judgment, united in doing justice to the loyal intentions of the earl; even by Cecil, whom

he believed to be his capital enemy, he was treated with humanity and regard. The following sentence, to which the council assented, was pronounced by the lord-keeper: 'Had this cause,' said he, 'been heard in the star-chamber, my sentence must have been for as great a fine as ever was set upon any man's head in that court; together with perpetual confinement in that prison, which belongeth to a man of his quality, the Tower. But since we are now in another place, and in a course of favour, my censure is, that the earl of Essex is not to execute the office of a counsellor, nor that of earl-marshal of England, nor of master of the ordnance; but is to return to his own house, there to continue a prisoner, till it shall please her majesty to release this, and all the rest of his sentence.' Some slight opposition was made by the earl of Cumberland to the severity of this sentence. The earl of Worcester gave his opinion in a couple of Latin verses, implying, that where the gods are offended, misfortunes are to be imputed as crimes, and that accident is no excuse for transgressions against the Divinity. Such was the servile adulation of the age, and such their moral and theological doctrines. There are few notions of religion that have not debased the subject; hence the triumph of infidels.

Bacon, afterwards so much distinguished for his high offices, and profound scientific researches, was nearly allied to the family of Cecil. Notwithstanding his extraordinary talents, he had yet met with so little protection from his powerful connexions, that he had obtained no preferment in his profession of the law. Essex, who was capable of distinguishing and of loving merit, had attached himself to Bacon, for whom he had zealously, though vainly, attempted to procure the office of solicitor for the queen. To console his friend under this disappointment, he had actually conferred upon him a present of land, to the value of eighteen hundred pounds. The people could ill excuse the appearance of Bacon before the council, against his munificent benefactor, notwithstanding he acted in obedience to the orders of the crown. But Elizabeth, to testify her satisfaction at his behaviour, imposed on him a new task, that of drawing up a narrative of the day's proceeding, to convince the nation of her justice and lenity. Bacon, who rather wanted firmness of character than humanity,

gave to the whole transaction, in executing his task, a favourable turn for his friend, dwelling more especially on the humility and submission which he had manifested in his defence. 'Old love,' said the queen to him, smiling, as he read to her the paper, 'is, I perceive, not easily forgotten.' 'Your majesty, I hope,' replied Bacon, 'means this of yourself.'

It was indeed generally expected, that Essex would soon be reinstated in his former credit, and, perhaps, as is not unusual in similar cases, where restrained affection returns with an elastic force, acquire an additional interest in the heart of his royal mistress. This idea received confirmation, when it was observed that, though Essex was prohibited from appearing at court, he still retained his office of master of horse, and was also restored to freedom and to the society of his friends. He himself seemed determined to persevere in a conduct which had hitherto proved successful; and which the queen desired should become habitual to him.

A monopoly of sweet wines was in the possession of Essex; and, as the patent had nearly expired, he patiently waited to see if the queen would renew it; a circumstance which he resolved to consider as the criterion of his fate, and decisive of his future expectations. However gracious Elizabeth had been towards her favourite, her temper was lofty and severe: the enemies of Essex, by whom she was surrounded, found means to persuade her, that his spirit was not yet sufficiently humbled, and that, before he was received again into her favour, a farther trial would be advisable. Thus prejudiced, she refused his demand in a style somewhat contemptuous: 'An ungovernable beast,' she said, 'must be stinted in his provender.'

There is a limit which marks the extent of human forbearance, and beyond which it is dangerous to proceed. Elizabeth overstepped this boundary, and prepared for herself future repentance. The fiery spirit of Essex had been curbed with difficulty, and his patience became at length exhausted. Struck with conviction, from the conduct of the queen, that she had inexorably steeled her heart against him, his smothered passions burst the barrier, and flamed into vehemence and outrage. He had been accustomed, during the period of his favour to assume a high tone, which had sometimes proved

successful, and which led him to flatter himself, that this conduct, which gratified his own temper, was the proper method of managing that of Elizabeth.

" Women" (says a satirist of the sex), " born to be controll'd,
" Stoop to the forward and the bold."

Essex acted upon this maxim, and, like many others, found himself foiled. Plunged into despair by this last mortification, he gave the reins to his resentment, and threw off every appearance of decency and respect. Infatuated with the favour of the people, he redoubled his arts of popularity, and practised a lavish hospitality, little suited to his situation and fortune. Connected with the army by his former employments, he courted the military, and caressed every adventurer, however desperate his fortunes, whose attachment he hoped might prove serviceable to his views. While he secretly sought the confidence of the catholics, his chief dependence was placed in the puritans, whom he openly flattered, and whose manners he adopted. Their most celebrated preachers resorted to Essex-house, where by daily prayers and sermons the family were edified, and where all the zealots in London were invited to attend these pious exercises.

This disposition began now to prevail in England, where religion, its customary fate, was made to serve as a political stalking-horse. For public spectacles, the means of allurement practised in ancient commonwealths, fanatical entertainments were substituted. Ambition availed itself of the popular delusion, and, under the formal demeanor of a bigot, insinuated itself into the public confidence. In the sermons of the puritanical preachers, whom theological investigation, how absurdly soever exercised, had led to the distrust of sanctioned systems, the doctrine of resistance to the civil magistrate was frequently inculcated. The minds of the hearers were thus prepared for the purposes over which Essex brooded in secret.

By his unguarded openness of temper, he was led into indiscretions still more dangerous. He indulged himself in personal and contemptuous reflections upon the queen. ' She was now grown an old woman,' he was heard to say, ' and was become as crooked in her mind as in her body.' Some court

ladies, whom Essex had formerly mortified, assiduously carried these stories to Elizabeth, and irritated her mind to a high degree. Jealousy of her beauty, a female foible, had been more peculiarly that of Elizabeth. Though approaching to her seventieth year, she was pleased that the noblemen of her court, and even foreign ambassadors, should compliment her upon her charms. An infirmity which might have been curable in a station to which truth had dared to approach, was confirmed by the adulation which the rank of the queen extorted, and which the spirit of the times had rendered gross and servile. While her courtiers found their account in flattering the foible of Elizabeth, the depredations of time passed over her unmarked: reiterated impressions, by the laws of the human mind, produce indelible associations, that can never be dissevered: the falsehood that flatters our wishes is eagerly received, while to unwelcome truths we endeavour to close our eyes. The abrupt dissolution of these illusions is among the rudest calamities of human life.

To sarcasms on her age and deformity, which it was not possible Elizabeth could forgive, Essex added a provocation even yet more galling, in making a secret application to the king of Scots, at once her rival, her heir, and successor. James had recently and narrowly escaped from a dangerous conspiracy; and, harassed by his turbulent subjects, cast a wishful glance towards England. As the queen advanced in years, the proximity of the desired object rendered his wishes yet more eager. He looked forward impatiently to a government of additional power and splendor, over a people less intractable. With these views, to ensure himself partizans, he negotiated with every court in Europe. He even neglected not to secure friends in those of Rome and Spain, by flattering the catholics with hopes. To Elizabeth only, of all the European powers, he dared not speak of his right of succession: aware, that though her advanced age might induce her to think of an heir, she was too fond of life and power to dwell without horror on the idea of their termination.

Essex was himself, in a female line, descended from the blood royal; and some of his partizans had imprudently mentioned his name among those who were likely to pretend to the crown. In his message to James he took care to disclaim

any thoughts of so high a nature, while he assured the king of Scotland, that, so far from indulging visions thus aspiring, he had determined to use every measure in his power to extort an immediate declaration of his right to the succession. James listened willingly to this proposal, but without approving the violent means which it seemed the purpose of Essex to employ. To lord Mountjoy, lord-deputy of Ireland, Essex had communicated his scheme: his influence over the affections of his friends, had enabled him to prevail on this virtuous and prudent man, to entertain thoughts of bringing over to England a part of his army, and of forcing the queen, to whom he owed his power, to name as her successor the king of Scots. Notwithstanding that James had positively declined this perilous expedient, the ardour of Essex in all his pursuits, made him still try to hold Mountjoy to his project. But the refusal of the Scottish monarch had changed the views of the more moderate lord-deputy. That enterprise which appeared to him justifiable, when supported by a sovereign prince and heir to the crown, he deemed wholly rash and criminal, when attempted by subjects without his concurrence. The correspondence between Essex and the Scottish court was, however, still maintained with cordiality and privacy. Essex endeavoured to render all his own enemies suspected by James, as men adverse to his succession, and partizans of Spain.

About this time (May, 1600) some advances had been made by Spain towards a peace with England; but the conferences which followed on the subject, received interruption from a dispute respecting precedency. During this abortive negotiation, the English ministers showed an inclination for pacific measures, to which the people, flushed with success, and sanguine in their hopes of plunder, were generally averse. Essex seized this opportunity to infuse into the multitude a distrust of the ministers; while he caused it to be insinuated, that they had sacrificed to Spain the interests of their country; and would even, without scruple, receive a sovereign from their mortal enemies. Not satisfied with these arts to render his adversaries odious, and instigated by his secretary, a man of a bold and arrogant temper, he proceeded to devise more violent measures.

A select council of malecontents was formed, who met at

Drury-house, and to whom Essex communicated his secret designs. He boasted that he had at his devotion an hundred and twenty barons, knights, and gentlemen of note, but that he trusted still more to his popularity with the nation. Among other desperate projects, the result of a blind fury, he deliberated with his associates respecting the method of taking arms; and consulted with them, whether it were best to begin with seizing the palace or the Tower, or whether he should at once make himself master of both. The former enterprise being preferred, it was determined, that sir Christopher Blount, with a choice detachment, should possess himself of the palace-gates; that Davis should seize the hall; Danvers the guard and presence-chambers; and that Essex should from the mews, attended by a body of his partizans, rush in, and intreat the queen, with all demonstrations of humility, to remove his enemies; should oblige her to assemble a parliament; and should, with common consent, settle a new plan of government.

While these schemes were in agitation, rumours of what was passing reached the queen, who dispatched Robert Sackville, the son of the treasurer, under pretence of a visit to Essex-house, but with secret orders to make his observations. Essex soon after received a summons to attend the council, which met at the house of the treasurer. While he pondered on this circumstance, and compared it with the visit he had recently received, a private note was put into his hand, warning him to provide for his safety. Concluding from this caution, that every thing was discovered, or at least suspected, and that he had nothing but evil to apprehend, he excused himself from attending the council, on pretence of indisposition, and dispatched messengers to his confederates, requesting their advice and aid in the critical situation of affairs. They deliberated, when assembled, whether at once to abandon their projects and fly the kingdom, instantly to seize the palace with what force they could collect, or to throw themselves on the attachment of the people. Essex vehemently declared against the first of these propositions, and professed himself ready to suffer any evil, rather than to live the life of a fugitive. To seize the palace without more preparation, appeared impracticable, more especially as the queen seemed aware of the plots, and had, as

they were informed, doubled her ordinary guard. No other expedient remained, than to make trial of the earl's popularity with the citizens.

While this plan was under discussion, a person arrived, as if commissioned for the purpose, to assure them of the affection of the people of London, and to encourage them to rely on this foundation. Essex had been sustained through all his undertakings by a notion of his influence and favour with the people; and, without considering the fluctuating nature of popular esteem, he failed not to persuade himself, that, with no other assistance than the good will of the multitude, he should be able to overthrow a government, confirmed by time and habit, revered for prudence and wisdom, and supported by vigour and the general sentiments of the nation. The rash project of raising the city was instantly resolved upon; but the execution was delayed till the following day, while emissaries were dispatched to all the friends of Essex, informing them, that schemes had been laid against his life, and that their presence and assistance was immediately required.

The earls of Southampton and Rutland, the lords Sandys and Monteagle, with three hundred gentlemen of quality and fortune, appeared the next day at Essex-house, where they were informed by the earl of the danger to which he was exposed by the pretended machinations of his enemies. To some, he declared his resolution of throwing himself at the feet of the queen, and craving from her justice and protection. To others, he boasted of his influence in the city; a resource which, he affirmed, whatever happened, could never fail him.

Of these designs the queen received information, through the means, as it was supposed, of sir Walter Raleigh, who had tampered with one of the malecontents. Having ordered the magistrates to keep the citizens in readines, Elizabeth sent a commission to Essex-house, to learn the cause of the unusual commotions. It was with some difficulty that the gentlemen deputed got admittance through a wicket, whence their servants were excluded. After much altercation and mutual menaces, during which the retainers of Essex were charged, on their allegiance, to lay down their arms, the earl, perceiving that matters were come to an extremity, resolved to leave the agents of the crown prisoners in his house, and to proceed to the execution of his former design.

Issuing out with about two hundred attendants, armed only with swords, he proceeded towards the city, and was joined in the way by the earl of Bedford and lord Cromwell. '*For the queen! for the queen! a plot is laid for my life!*' exclaimed he aloud, and passed on to the house of Smith, the sheriff, on whose aid he principally relied. The citizens crowded around him in amazement, while he told them that England was sold to the infanta of Spain, and exhorted them to arm instantly, or they could do him no service. But no one appeared inclined to join him. The sheriff, on his approach, stole through the back door of his house, and hastened to the mayor. Essex, struck with the coldness he observed, and hearing that he was proclaimed a traitor by the earl of Cumberland and lord Burleigh, began to despair, and to meditate a retreat to his house. He found the streets barricaded in his way, and guarded by a detachment of the citizens. In the attempt to force his way, Tracy, a young gentleman, whom he affectionately esteemed, was, with two or three of the Londoners, killed on the spot. The greater part of his partizans began to withdraw themselves, while the earl retreated towards the river, and, gaining a boat, reached Essex-house. He there found that Gorges, the man suspected of correspondence with Raleigh, whom he had sent before to capitulate with his prisoners, had given them liberty, and returned with them to court. Thus reduced to despair, he determined to take the advice of lord Sandys, and to defend himself to the last, to perish rather like a brave man, sword in hand, than to fall basely by the axe of the executioner. But this rash resolution he at length relinquished, and, after some parley, and a vain demand of hostages or conditions, surrendered to the besiegers, stipulating only for civil treatment, and a candid and impartial hearing.

During this disturbance the queen had preserved the most perfect tranquillity and composure. With the same equanimity she gave orders for the trial of the principal offenders. The earls of Essex and Southampton were arraigned before a jury of twenty-five peers, among whom Buckhurst acted as lord-steward. The guilt of the prisoners could not be doubted; the insurrection was in the face of the people; beside which, their treasonable conferences at Drury-house were proved on unquestionable evidence. Sir Ferdinando Gorges was produced

in court. The confessions of the earl of Rutland, of the lords Cromwell, Sandys, and Monteagle, of Danvers, Blount, and Davies, were, according to the practice of the age, only read to the peers. The best friends of Essex were shocked at his positive assertion of his innocence, and of the goodness of his intentions; and still more at his vindictive temper, in accusing, without either proof or reason, secretary Cecil, as a partizan of the infanta of Spain. Cecil, by whom this charge had been expected, stepped into court, and challenged Essex to produce his authorities; which were found, on examination, to be both frivolous and weak. When sentence was pronounced upon him, Essex spoke like a man prepared to meet death. Yet, he observed, that he wished not to be represented to the queen as a person who despised her clemency; which, nevertheless, he believed, he should not seek to obtain by cringing submissions. The behaviour of Southampton was more moderate; he entreated the good offices of the peers, with a modesty and mildness that interested their compassion in his behalf. One of the most painful circumstances attending the trial of Essex, was the appearance of Bacon against his benefactor. He was a crown-lawyer, and therefore not compelled by his office to assist on this occasion. But, to obtain the royal favour, he scrupled not to be active in depriving of life his generous friend and patron. He compared the conduct of Essex, in his presence, of dreading the attempts of his adversaries, to that of Pisistratus the Athenian, who wounded his own body, and, making the people believe that this violence had been committed by his enemies, obtained a guard for his person, by the aid of which he afterwards subdued the liberties of his country.

Having passed some days in the stillness and gloom of a prison, the proud heart of Essex became subdued. That contrition which the fear of death had not been able to produce, was effected by a sentiment of religion. The doctrines and practices which had formerly been the instruments of his ambition, now became those of his terror and humiliation. Persuaded by his spiritual directors, that the pardon of Heaven was only to be gained by a confession of his disloyalty, he gave in to the council a full account of all his most treasonable designs, among which his correspondence with the king of Scotland was not omitted. In this avowal he spared not to in-

volve his most intimate friends; even lord Mountjoy was named, who had refused to proceed with him to criminal lengths. To pacify his conscience, he scrupled not to make such atonements, as, at any other period of his life, he would have deemed yet more reprehensible than the offences themselves. He accused sir Harry Nevil, a man of distinguished merit, of a correspondence with the conspirators; though it appeared, that he had never assented to the proposals made to him, and was guilty only in not revealing what he had heard. For this forbearance, which, however unjustifiable, was the natural result of an honourable mind, Nevil was thrown into prison, and made to suffer a severe persecution. But as Mountjoy had proved himself an able and successful commander, Elizabeth continued him in his government, and sacrificed her resentment to political wisdom.

The queen, who affected the praise of clemency, and who had, in every great example made during her reign, always appeared reluctant and hesitating, now underwent a real inquietude: the distress of Essex revived in her heart its former feelings, and kept her agitated and irresolute. Tenderness, resentment, pride, pity, concern, and prudence, combated in her soul, which they melted and shook by turns. Her situation was scarcely less pitiable than that of the rash victim of his crimes. She signed a warrant for his execution and countermanded it; again resolved on his death, and again relapsed into tenderness and compassion. By the enemies of Essex she was told, that he desired to die, and that he assured her she would, while he lived, never remain in security. But what principally steeled her heart against him, was his supposed obstinacy, in making no application to her for mercy and pardon. Finally, she consented to his execution.

At his death he manifested symptoms of contrition and of piety rather than of fear, and acknowledged the justice of the sentence by which he suffered. At his own request, he was executed privately in the Tower, fearing, as he said, lest the favour and compassion of the people should too much raise his heart in those moments, when humiliation under the afflictive hand of Heaven was the only sentiment which he ought to entertain. The queen also, doubtless, believed it prudent to remove from the public eye so affecting a spectacle. His old

enemy, sir Walter Raleigh, beheld the catastrophe from a window in the Tower, to which he came expressly for the purpose. A conduct so cruel and ungenerous, for which no apology could be received, increased the public odium under which he already laboured. In consistency with this action, was the barbarous animosity with which, even when Cecil relented, he urged on the fate of Essex. To triumph over a fallen enemy, affords an unequivocal proof of a base mind.

Thus perished, in his thirty-fifth year, in the bloom and vigour of life, a victim to his rash and ungovernable passions, the gallant Essex, whose brilliant endowments, whose generosity, courage, activity, and genius, had given the noblest promise, but whom the gifts of nature and of fortune combined to precipitate on his ruin. The favour of the queen, whose partiality he had so often abused, inspired him with a fatal temerity. Confiding in his ascendency and merit, and dignifying with the name of frankness and sincerity a haughty and petulant spirit, he too often forgot, in his treatment of Elizabeth, the delicacy due to a woman who had distinguished him by her favour, and the respect to which she was entitled by her station and rank. He sported with her lenity and indulgence, till he urged her beyond the limits of forbearance, and forced her, in the dignity of the sovereign, to stifle the tenderness and sentiments of her sex.

Several of the associates of Essex were also tried and condemned to death; the remainder received a pardon, on the supposition that friendship, and concern for the safety of the earl, had involved them in his conspiracy, while ignorant of the extent to which it led. The life of Southampton was saved with difficulty; but, during the remainder of the reign of Elizabeth, he was detained a close prisoner. The king of Scots, apprehensive of having been involved in the late transaction, deputed ambassadors to England, to congratulate the queen on her safety and escape. They had also a commission to inquire whether measures had been taken to exclude James from the succession, and to sound on the subject, in case of Elizabeth's demise, the sentiments of the counsellors and principal nobility. The disposition of these persons accorded with the wishes of James, who even settled a correspondence

with Cecil, whose influence, since the decease of Essex, had become uncontrolled, and who politically sought to conciliate the confidence of the successor. This connexion was carefully concealed from the knowledge of Elizabeth, whose jealousy of her authority remained in full force. By Cecil the Scottish monarch was persuaded to rest in quiet, and patiently to await the moment, that should open to the throne the fair and honourable path of a legal inheritance. The equitable and pacific temper of James inclined him to embrace this counsel without reluctance; while the minds of the English were gradually disposed to admit, without opposition, the succession of his line. The death of Essex proved favourable to this event, by putting a period to factious commotions.

Henry IV. made a journey during this summer (1601) to Calais, when Elizabeth, having heard of his intentions, went to Dover, in the hope of having a personal interview with a monarch, whom of all others she most respected. The French king, whose esteem for her was not less sincere, would gladly have acceded to the proposition. But obstacles occurring that could not easily be obviated, the design was laid aside by mutual consent. Two letters were however addressed by the queen to Henry, in which she expressed a desire of conferring with some minister, in whom he could place entire confidence, on a business of importance. In consequence of this request, the marquis of Rosni (the celebrated duke de Sully), the king's favourite and prime-minister, came to Dover in disguise.

In the interesting memoirs of that illustrious and able statesman, may be found a full account of what passed on this occasion. A scheme had been formed by Elizabeth, in conjunction with Henry, of a novel system in Europe, and of fixing a durable balance of power, by erecting new states on the ruins of the house of Austria. The sagacity of Elizabeth went yet farther: foreseeing, even in the aggrandisement of her ally, future perils, she proposed to unite into one republic the seventeen provinces of the Low-countries, and thus to fix a perpetual barrier against the dangerous increase either of the French or Spanish monarchies. Rosni expressed his surprise to find in the project of the queen a plan of his master's anticipated, which he had long meditated against the Austrian family. Without communicating to each other their senti-

ments, the same penetration, the same extent of mind and grandeur of conception, had produced in the views of both these monarchs a singular and striking similarity. The affairs of France would not yet allow Henry to commence this great enterprise, which Rosni satisfied the queen it would be necessary to postpone for some years. Having finished the conference, he departed, filled with a just admiration of the judgment and talents of Elizabeth, whom he confessed to be worthy of the high reputation she had obtained throughout Europe. The compass, extent, and activity of her mind, displayed on this occasion, are the more admirable and extraordinary, when her advanced age is considered. An additional proof of her magnanimity was also afforded by the disorders of Ireland, from which, while they divided her forces, she was able thus to abstract her thoughts.

The expenses incurred by the Irish war, though conducted by Mountjoy with ability and success, pressed heavily upon her revenue. Her ministers, availing themselves of her frugal disposition, proposed to her an expedient of a perilous nature, which, though it had at first incurred her disapprobation, she was at length seduced to adopt. Under pretence that the large sums remitted to Ireland for the pay of the troops, enriched by circulation the rebels, and enabled them to purchase abroad ammunition and arms, it was proposed to mix with the coin a base alloy, which, beside the great saving which it must produce to the revenue, would be useless in foreign markets. In vain it was observed by the more sagacious counsellors, that, if the pay of the soldiers was raised in proportion, the rebels, who would take the money at a suitable valuation, would continue to reap the same advantages. If otherwise, the troops, defrauded of their right, would probably mutiny. Elizabeth, who had justly valued herself on fixing the standard of the English coin, which had been debased by her predecessors, and had innovated but little in an article of so much delicacy, suffered herself to be imposed on by the specious reasoning of the lord-treasurer, which flattered her favourite propensity, and coined a quantity of base money, which she made use of to pay her forces in Ireland.

Mountjoy, foreseeing the consequences that were likely to ensue, led his forces instantly to the field, to divert by action

and strict discipline their just discontent. By destroying every where the provisions of the Irish, whom he harassed with inroads and lesser expeditions, he reduced them to perish by famine in their woods and morasses.

The war in Ireland, notwithstanding the advantages gained, proved an excessive burthen on the finances of the English government. Elizabeth, beside the small supplies granted to her by parliament, had been compelled to employ other expedients, to sell the royal demesnes and crown jewels, and to exact loans from the people. She found herself once more obliged, by the necessity of her affairs, to summon a parliament (October 27th, 1601), in which it appeared, that her advancing age, and diminished popularity, since the unfortunate catastrophe of Essex, had abated nothing of her high and uncontrollable spirit.

The activity of her reign had called forth talents in various civil and military departments, which her scanty revenues rendered her unable to reward. Thus circumstanced, she availed herself of an expedient employed by her predecessors, but never carried to so great a height. Patents for monopolies were granted by her to her courtiers and servants, which they sold to others, and thus, arbitrarily raising the price of commodities, shackled industry, emulation, and commerce.

The demands of the monopolists were so exorbitant, that in some places the price of salt was raised from sixteen pence to fourteen or fifteen shillings per bushel. Profits so high brought intruders upon their trade, to secure themselves against whose encroachments, the patentees were armed with high and arbitrary powers, from the council, by which they oppressed the people at pleasure, and exacted money from every one whom they thought proper to accuse of interfering with their patent. The patentees of saltpetre, more especially, who had the power of entering into every house, and of committing what havoc they pleased in stables and cellars, or wherever they suspected saltpetre might be gathered, frequently extorted money from those who wished to secure themselves from this damage or trouble. While domestic trade was thus fettered, every species of foreign commerce was confined to exclusive companies, who bought and sold at prices fixed by themselves.

These pernicious and intolerable grievances had been mentioned in the preceding parliament, and a petition respecting them presented to the queen, who still persisted to defend the monopolists against the prayers and interests of the people. A bill was now introduced into the house for the abolition of monopolies, and, the former application having proved unsuccessful, it was insisted upon that a law would be the only expedient for the effectual correction of these abuses. On the other side, it was maintained by the courtiers, that this affair regarded the prerogative, and that a humble and respectful address to the queen's goodness and beneficence was the only means of procuring redress. It was asserted that the queen inherited a power both of enlarging and restraining; that by her *prerogative* she might set at liberty what the statutes had restrained; or might restrain what was otherwise at liberty. A curious doctrine, which exhibits the spirit of that despotic age. To this it was added, that the royal prerogative was not to be canvassed, disputed, nor examined; nor did it even admit of limitation. That absolute princes, such as the sovereigns of England, were a species of *Deity*. That it was a vain attempt to tie the queen's hands by laws, which, by means of her dispensing power, she could loosen at pleasure. That, even should a clause be annexed to a statute, excluding that dispensing power, she could first dispense with the clause, and then with the statute.

After this truly imperial discourse, the principles of which were admitted by both sides of the house, the queen, who perceived how odious these monopolies had become, and the feuds they were likely to produce, deigned, of her sovereign pleasure, to send for the speaker, and to desire him to inform the Commons, that she would immediately cancel the most oppressive of those patents.

Astonishment, admiration, and gratitude, filled the minds of the Commons at this extraordinary condescension. A member declared, with his eyes full of tears, that had a sentence of everlasting happiness been pronounced in his favour, he could not have felt more joy than that which now overwhelmed him. Another observed, that this message from the sacred person of the queen, was a kind of *gospel* or glad tidings, and ought to be received as such, and written in the tab-

lets of their hearts. It was farther remarked, that as the Deity would not give his glory to another, so the queen herself was the only agent in their present happiness. To conclude these compliments, which were in the spirit of a Turkish Divan rather than of a British senate, it was voted, that the speaker, with a certain number of members, should intreat permission to wait on her majesty, and return her thanks for her gracious concessions.

When introduced to the queen, they all threw themselves on their knees, remaining for a considerable time in that abject position, till she deigned to express her desire that they should arise. The speaker displayed the gratitude of the Commons, that the sacred ears of the sovereign were ever open to hear, and her blessed hands stretched out to relieve them. Her *preventing grace* and *all-deserving goodness*, that gave them more than they could desire, much less deserve, was humbly and dutifully acknowledged. To this it was added, that the attribute most proper to *God*, who performed all that he promised, appertained also to the queen, who was all truth, all constancy, and all goodness. 'Neither,' said the speaker, in the conclusion of this curious address, 'do we present our thanks in words, or any outward sign, which can be no sufficient retribution for so great goodness; but, in all duty and thankfulness, prostrate at your feet, we present our most loyal and thankful hearts, even the last drop of blood in our hearts, and the last spirit of breath in our nostrils, to be poured out, and to be breathed up for your safety.'

To this servile adulation, in which the attributes of a Deity were attributed to her, the queen listened with great composure; and, in return, notwithstanding her late rigour, from which nothing but necessity could have made her depart, assured her people of her maternal tenderness. Thus, by prudently receding in time from her prerogative, Elizabeth maintained it entire, and preserved her popularity. Her grateful Commons granted her a supply, till then unprecedented, of four subsidies and eight fifteenths; and this previous to their receiving any satisfaction in the business of monopolies. To have extorted a concession, by holding the supply in suspense, would have been a certain means, with the jealous and haughty temper of the queen, of defeating their wishes, and provoking her to greater exertions of her authority.

Elizabeth, about this period, to give employment to the Spaniards at home, who had harassed her by their interference with the affairs of Ireland, fitted out a squadron of nine ships, which she sent on an expedition to the coast of Spain. The admiral, with a part of the squadron, met the galleons, laden with treasure, but was not strong enough to attack them. They escaped also the vice-admiral from the same cause. These officers, therefore, that their expedition might not prove wholly fruitless, resolved to attack the harbour of Cerimbra, in Portugal, where they learned that a rich carack had taken shelter. They effected their purpose through many obstacles, and with an unequal force, and brought home the carack, which was valued at a million of ducats. A sensible loss to Spain, and a considerable and seasonable supply to Elizabeth.

The affairs of Ireland, after the expulsion of the Spaniards, and under the care of Mountjoy, hastened to a settlement. Tyrone, the chief of the insurgents, driven to extremity, made application to be received upon terms, but was compelled by Mountjoy to make an absolute surrender to the mercy of the queen. He appeared before the deputy in a habit and posture suited to his fortunes, and, after humbly acknowledging his offences, was committed to custody, and reserved by Mountjoy to be brought over as a captive to England, to be disposed of according to the royal pleasure.

But Elizabeth no longer took an interest in public concerns; her sun was setting, overshadowed by a dark cloud. Prosperity and glory palled upon her sense: an incurable melancholy had fixed itself on her heart. By some this depression was, with little grounds, attributed to her repentance for granting a pardon to Tyrone, whom she had destined to condign punishment, but whose interest with her ministers had extorted from her a remission. Others, with more plausibility, imputed her dejection to a discovery which she had made of the correspondence maintained in her court with the king of Scots, and to her sense of old age and infirmities which were creeping upon her. But another cause for her melancholy, however romantic it may appear, modern discoveries appear to have confirmed.* Her tenderness for Essex was revived

* The proofs of this fact are collected in Birch's Negotiations, p. 206; and Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 481, 505, &c.

by some circumstances, which gave rise to the deepest contrition for his untimely end.

After his return from his expedition against Cadiz, the earl of Essex, observing the increase of the queen's attachment towards him, expressed his regret, that the necessity of her service called him often from her presence, and his fears lest, in these intervals, the ill offices of his enemies should prevail against him. To calm this jealousy, the queen presented him with a ring, as the pledge of her friendship, assuring him, into whatever disgrace he should fall, or whatever prejudices she might be induced to form against him, that, on the sight of this ring, she would recollect her former affection, would again afford him a hearing, and lend to his apology a favourable ear. This precious gift was preserved by Essex till the last extremity; but, after his trial and condemnation, he resolved to make proof of its efficacy, and committed the ring to the countess of Nottingham, whom he requested to deliver it to the queen. The countess suffered herself to be prevailed on by her husband, the enemy of Essex, to suppress what had past, and conceal the ring. Elizabeth, still expecting from her favourite this last appeal to her tenderness, and ascribing his neglect of it to invincible obstinacy and pride, was, after many conflicts, urged at length, by resentment and policy, to sign the warrant of his execution.

The countess of Nottingham, being seized with sickness, and finding her end approach, was smitten by remorse for the part she had acted. Having obtained, at her request, a visit from the queen, she revealed the fatal secret, and implored her forgiveness. Elizabeth, struck with horror by this incident, burst into passion and outrage, shook the dying penitent in her bed, and wildly exclaimed, 'That God might pardon her, but she never could.' Having thus said, she broke from her, and thenceforth abandoned herself to sorrow. Rejecting all consolation, and refusing sustenance, she threw herself on the floor, where she continued, dwelling on what had past, silent and motionless; or, if she spoke, it was but to complain of existence as an intolerable burthen. Sighs and groans discovered to her attendants the state of her mind. For ten days and nights she lay upon the carpet, leaning on cushions, which her women had brought to her; nor would she allow herself to be

removed to her bed, or make trial of the remedies prescribed by the physicians.

The anxiety of her mind made swift ravages upon her feeble frame; the period of her life visibly approached. From the assembled council a deputation was sent, to inquire her will with regard to her successor. With a faint voice she replied, that, as she still held a regal sceptre, she desired no other than a royal successor. Cecil requesting her to speak more expressly, she added, 'she would have a king to succeed her; and who should that be, but her nearest kinsman, the king of Scots?' The archbishop of Canterbury then advised her to fix her thoughts on God. She did so, she replied, nor did her mind in the least wander from him. Her voice soon after and her senses failing, she fell into a lethargic slumber, which having continued some hours, she expired gently, without a struggle, March 24th, 1603, in the seventieth year of her age, and the forty-fifth of her reign.

The character of Elizabeth appears to have been exalted by her friends, and depreciated by her enemies, in nearly equal proportions. As a monarch, her activity and force of mind, her constancy, magnanimity, sagacity, prudence, vigilance, and address, have scarcely been surpassed in royal annals, and are worthy of the highest admiration. Pope Sixtus V. spoke of her on all occasions as "a woman with a strong head," and gave her a place among the three persons, who, in his opinion, only deserved to reign: the remaining two were himself and Henry IV. of France. 'Your queen,' said he, once to an Englishman, 'is born fortunate: she governs her kingdom with great happiness: she wants only to be married to me, to give to the world a second Alexander.'

Neither the cares of government, nor the infirmities of approaching age, weaned her from the love of letters, which, at every interval of leisure, were her great delight. When nearly sixty years of age, in 1592, she made a second visit to Oxford, where, having been entertained with orations, disputations, &c., she pronounced on her departure, a Latin oration to the vice-chancellor and doctors, when she took her last farewel of the University. In the ensuing year, she translated from Latin into English, Boethius "*De Consolatione Philosophiæ.*" In

1598, when the disturbances in Ireland occupied a considerable share of her attention, she translated Sallust "*De bello Jugurthino.*" Also, the greater part of Horace "*De Arte Poëtica,*" and Plutarch's book "*De Curiositate;*" all which were written with her own hand.

In 1598, Paulus de Juline, the Polish minister, gave offence to Elizabeth by the impertinent manner in which he delivered his embassy. Cutting him short, in the presence of her nobility; she reproved him sharply in an extempore Latin oration, which having concluded, she rose with a majestic air, and, turning from him to the gentleman in waiting, 'God's death, my lord,' said she, 'I have been forced this day to scour up my old Latin, that had long lain rusting.'

It would be tedious to enumerate her epistles and speeches to her parliament, which have been published in the *State Papers*, and in various collections. Many of her letters in manuscript are preserved in the Bodleian and other libraries. In the library, at Norwich, is a book of Prayers, pr. Lond. 1561, 24mo, bound in silk, the leaves gilt, which is believed to have been Elizabeth's own book. In the beginning of it is "*A Prayer to be said in tyme of extream sickness,*" written, as it appears, with her own hand.

Her temper and her talents equally fitted her for government: capable of self-command, and of controlling her own passions, she acquired an unlimited ascendency over those of her people. She possessed courage without temerity, spirit, resource, and activity in war, with the love of peace and tranquillity: her frugality was exempt from avarice, it was the result rather of her love of independence, than of a passion for accumulation. She never amassed any treasures. Her friendships were uniform and steady, yet she was never governed by her favourites; a criterion of a strong mind: nor did she suffer her partialities (excepting in the case of Leicester, a mistake which she afterwards rectified) to mislead her judgment, or prove injurious to the state. Her choice in her ministers gave proof of her sagacity, as her constancy in supporting them did of her firmness. If a conduct less rigorous, less imperious, and more indulgent, would have thrown greater lustre over her character, let it be remembered, that some good qualities appear to be incompatible with others; nor let the se-

ductive and corrupting nature of power be left out in the account. Her insincerity was perhaps the greatest blot in her character, and the fruitful source of all the vexatious incidents of her reign. Though unacquainted with philosophical toleration, the only method of disarming the turbulence of religious faction, she yet preserved her people, by her prudence and good sense, from those theological disputes which desolated the neighbouring nations.

Beset with enemies both at home and abroad, among the most powerful princes in Europe, the most enterprising and the least scrupulous, the vigour of her administration enabled her to defeat all their purposes, to annoy and plunder them in their own dominions and possessions, and to preserve her own dignity untouched and unimpaired. The wise ministers and brave warriors of her reign, reflect, by their management and exploits, credit on the sovereign, to whose judgment they owed their advancement and support, and over whom they never acquired any improper or undue influence. In her family, in her court, in her kingdom, she remained always mistress and head. While she merited by her real virtues the confidence and esteem of her people, she gained their affections by her insinuation and address. Few monarchs have succeeded to a throne in more difficult circumstances, nor have any ever reigned with more uniform success and prosperity.

If, as a *woman*, cut off by the peculiarities of her situation from the sympathies of nature, and the charm of equal affections, Elizabeth, at times, suffered under these privations, which even gave to her sensibility additional force and acuteness, the strength of her reason still triumphed over her passions, and the struggles which her victories cost her, served but to display the firmness of her resolution, and the loftiness of her mind.

As a monarch, even the enemies of Elizabeth will not deny her the appellation of great; but their prejudices, founded on the consideration of her sex, cannot, even by her friends, be disallowed. The force of her mind was probably never exerted to guard her against those lesser infirmities, from which the wisest and the strongest are not always exempt. The rivalship of beauty, the desire of admiration, the jealousy of love, and the sallies of anger, which she suffered to display them-

selves with so little control, sometimes betrayed her into circumstances of degradation, and sometimes led her to detestable crimes. But to guard the heart, on a throne, against the continual operation of a servile homage and gross adulation, seems to require super-human strength. If, on great occasions, the cultivated understanding of Elizabeth which early adversity had strengthened and matured, exerted itself to judge and to act, this painful vigilance must necessarily be relaxed, in the common occurrences of familiar life. The romantic spirit of the times, in which a Sydney composed his Arcadia, and a Spenser his Fairy Queen, threw over the rudeness of the age an air of softness and gaiety, and blended, with the homage of the courtier, the gallantry of the lover. Flattery perpetually assailed the throne, on which a female sovereign was seated, whose ears the truth could not possibly reach. Constant impressions, by the laws of the human mind, will with certainty produce their effect. If Elizabeth, at the age of seventy, gave credit to her courtiers, who for five-and-forty years had repeated the same unvaried strain, and rejected the honest testimony of her mirror, which gradually reflected the depredations of time, it will appear but little extraordinary to the mind accustomed to reflect on its own operations, and to observe the facility with which the persuasions of the imagination triumph over the suggestions of the understanding, while the evidences of the senses are silenced by habitual belief.

Those who require more softness of manners, greater lenity of temper, and more feminine graces, to form the character of a woman, to whom they could attach themselves as a mistress and a wife, must be reminded, that these amiable weaknesses, which arise out of a state of subjection and dependence, are utterly incompatible with the the situation of an absolute sovereign, and with the exercise of those qualities by which only such a situation can be maintained.

It will appear from the preceding narrative, that the praises which have by some been bestowed upon Elizabeth, for her regard for the constitution, and tender concern for the liberties of her people, are wholly without foundation. Few princes have exerted with more arbitrary power the regal prerogatives, which had been transmitted to her by her immediate predecessors; yet no censure belongs to her for this conduct, in the

principles of which she had been trained, and of the justice of which she was persuaded. What potentate, what *man*, has voluntarily resigned the power in which those beneath him quietly acquiesced? Elizabeth believed her subjects entitled to no more freedom than their ancestors had enjoyed, and found them resigned to her arbitrary administration, to which *custom* had given its sanction. Yet, the popularity which she enjoyed, proves that she abused not the privileges which she claimed. Compared with the reigns of her father and sister, that of Elizabeth might be termed a golden age. Speculation on the subjects of religion and polity, was, in those periods, but in its infancy: in the weakness of the succeeding reigns it rapidly acquired strength. The mind of man must be loosened from the bondage of superstition, before it will be applied to the important sciences of political economy and moral happiness. The particular exertions of power made by Elizabeth, were but in the ordinary course of administration.

In the article of her dress, only, Elizabeth affected an expensive magnificence. Her opinion of her beauty, and her passion for admiration, led her to study variety and richness in her apparel. She appeared almost daily in different habits, and tried every mode of varying their form. Nor would she ever part with her clothes. At her death, three thousand different dresses were found in her wardrobe. Next to her desire of personal admiration, was her vanity of authorship. Learning was the fashion of the times: the ladies of the court, in imitation of the queen, valued themselves on their erudition. Yet Elizabeth was by no means a patroness of letters; Spenser, the finest English writer of the age, was long neglected, and, after the death of his patron, sir Philip Sydney, suffered to perish almost for want.

The following testimony to the abilities of Elizabeth, was given by her treasurer lord Burleigh: "No one of her counsellors could tell her what she knew not, and, when her council had said all they could, she could find out a wise counsel beyond theirs; and there never was anie great consultation about her country, at which she was not present to her great profit and prayse." It is related by Scott, in his "*Philomathologia*," that a courtier having made suit to this princess for an office belonging to the law, she told him he was unfit for the

place. 'That is true,' replied he, 'but I can find a deputy who shall be sufficient.' 'Do so,' answered the queen, 'and then I may bestow it on one of my ladies; for they, by deputation, may execute the office of chancellor, chief-justice, or any other, as well as yourself.'

Soon after her advancement to the crown, an English knight, who had formerly treated her with insolence, apprehensive of the consequences of her resentment, on his knees besought her pardon. 'Do you not know,' said she, magnanimously, 'that we are descended of the lion, whose nature is not to prey upon the mouse or other small vermin?'*

The remains of Elizabeth were interred in Westminster-abbey, in the vault of king Henry the Seventh's chapel. James, her successor, erected to her memory a magnificent monument.

Hume's History of England—Ballard's Memoirs of British Ladies, &c.

ELIZABETH
OF FRANCE.

The unhappy fate of this princess, a victim to policy, and, as it was suspected, to the gloomy jealousy of her husband, Philip II. of Spain, has afforded a theme to the dramatic muse. Elizabeth, the daughter of Henry II. and of Catherine of Medicis, was born at Fontainebleau, in April, 1545. She was originally destined to be the wife of Edward VI. of England, an alliance prevented by his premature death. She was afterwards contracted to Carlos, prince of Spain, son of Philip II., and heir to the empire.

In the interval preceding the completion of the marriage, Philip was, by the death of Mary, queen of England, left a widower, and at liberty to form a new engagement. Thus circumstanced, during the negotiations which preceded the treaty of Cambresis, he demanded for himself the hand of the young princess, by the fame of whose beauty he had been attracted. His offers were accepted, and Elizabeth, in despite of reluctance and tears, led to the altar, a victim of state policy. The nuptials were celebrated by proxy, at the church of *Notre-Dame*, only a few days previous to the death of Henry II.

* Puttenham.

The title of *Elizabeth de la Paix* was given to the princess, who formed the cement of the pacification between France and Spain. It is agreed by all contemporary historians, that don Carlos never forgave his father for thus supplanting him: it is also insinuated, that a tender attachment subsisted between him and Elizabeth, on whose conduct, however, no criminal or improper imputations are thrown.

In 1566, Elizabeth was brought by the duke of Alva to Bayonne, where an interview took place between her and her brother, Charles IX., who was accompanied by his mother, Catherine of Medicis, of whom the queen of Spain had been the favourite daughter. It was in this meeting, amidst festivity and splendor, that the execrable plan for the extirpation of the huguenots was concerted between Catherine, her son, and the duke of Alva.

The particulars of the unhappy fate of don Carlos are involved in obscurity: he expired prematurely in the bloom of life, but whether by natural or violent means is uncertain. It was suspected, that, jealous of his attachment to the queen, Philip had given orders for the private execution of his son.

Elizabeth, deeply affected by the misfortunes and death of the prince, survived him only ten weeks. She expired in child-bed, at Madrid, October 3d, 1568, beloved and regretted by the whole nation. This catastrophe gave place to various tragical suspicions and conjectures. Brantome, on this subject, observes, "*On parle fort sinistrément de sa mort.*" De Thou, and the abbé de St. Peal, also insinuate, that the death of the queen was accelerated. These suspicions probably had their rise, or at least received strength, in the cruel and gloomy disposition of Philip. Elizabeth was eminently beautiful in her person, and amiable in her manners. She left two daughters: the eldest, Clara Eugenia, the favourite and beloved child of Philip, married the arch-duke Albert, and was for many years governess of the Low-countries. The second, Catherine, espoused Charles-Emanuel, duke of Savoy.

History of France—Oeuvres du Seigneur de Brantome.

ELIZABETH ELSTOB.

THIS lady, sister to William Elstob, an English clergyman, eminent for his skill in the Saxon language, united with her brother in his studies, whose assiduity she emulated, and whose success she equalled.

NINON DE L'ENCLOS.

THE celebrated Ninon de l'Enclos, the Aspasia of France, was born in Paris, May 15th, 1616. Her father, monsieur de l'Enclos, was a gentleman of Touraine: her mother descended from the respectable family of Raconis, in Orleans.

Monsieur de l'Enclos, a man of talents and of pleasure, omitted nothing in the education of his daughter that might tend to the embellishment of her person, or the cultivation of her genius. A great part of her time was devoted to a perusal of the best authors; she learned of her father to touch the lute with exquisite skill, while she emulated his taste, and imbibed his principles. Her mother, a woman of piety, and severer morals, vainly endeavoured to counteract an education, which appeared to her not less dangerous than profane: with this view, she constrained her daughter daily to accompany her to vespers, or to hear sermons, which were but little suited to the taste of the young lady, who, during these exercises, clandestinely contrived to amuse herself with books of information or of entertainment.

At fourteen years of age she lost her mother, whom her father survived but little more than a year. His address to Ninon, on his death-bed, is too curious and characteristic to be omitted: 'Draw near,' said he, 'Ninon: You see my dear child, that nothing more remains for me than the sad remembrance of those enjoyments I am now about to quit for ever. That their possession has been of no longer duration, is the only charge which I bring against nature. But, alas! my regrets are useless as vain. You, who will survive me, must make the best of your precious time. Be never scrupulous respecting the number of your pleasures, but always select in their choice.'

Of a philosophy thus truly epicurean, Ninon failed not to avail herself. She began by arranging her little patrimony with a singular economy: determined to preserve her liberty by remaining unmarried, she was solicitous to secure for herself a competent support. The lessons, and the example of her father, were never from her mind: she formed her conduct upon a system of refined libertinism, in which intellectual pleasures were blended with those of sense. Her beauty, her genius, her musical talents, the charms of her wit, and the graces of her manner, captivated every heart: her house became the *rendezvous* of all who were distinguished for their talents, their elegance, or their rank. Delicate in her voluptuousness, and disinterested in the midst of an intoxicating homage, she was guided in the distribution of her favours solely by her taste; in the choice of her lovers, mercenary motives were allowed no share. If they complained of her inconstancy, they could not charge her with perfidy. Her heart, though corrupted by her education, was still sincere: she considered love in its lowest and most ignoble sense, as the mere caprice of the senses, a compact of animal gratification, or of mutual pleasure, free from duty, and subject to no restraint. Friendship she reverenced as the most sacred bond of the heart: but of that union of sentiment in which they are exquisitely blended, in which the former loses all its grossness, and the latter acquires a more touching charm; of *affection*, that combines with the vivacity and tenderness of love, the purity, the stability, and the disinterestedness of friendship, she had, unfortunately for herself, no idea.

The company who assembled to sup at her house, were permitted, as their lovely hostess was known not to be rich, to bring with them each his own dish.* Not less distinguished for knowledge and talents, than for her gallantry and accomplishments, Ninon acquired the title of *la moderne Leontium*.

At the age of twenty-two, a dangerous illness brought her to the brink of the grave. Her friends, who surrounded her bed, deplored on this occasion the severity of her destiny, to be thus snatched from them, and the world, in the prime and

* No uncommon custom in France.

bloom of her life. '*Ah!*' replied she to them, '*je ne laisse au monde que des mourans.*'† "It seems to me," says Voltaire, "that these words are truly philosophical, and that Ninon merits the four lines written by St. Evremond at the bottom of her picture:

"L'indulgent et sage Nature
A formé le cœur de Ninon
De la volupté d'Epicure
Et de la vertu de Caton."‡

Ninon's prayer to God was, "*Mon Dieu, faites de moi un honnête homme, et n'en faites jamais une honnête femme.*' It is difficult to render the spirit of this expression in English: 'My God, make me an honest man (or a man of honour), but never make me a woman of honour.' The fame of her wit and talents procured her a visit from Christina, queen of Sweden, who came into France in 1655. Mademoiselle d'Aubigné, afterwards madame de Maintenon, was, about the time of her marriage with Scarron, united to Ninon in the strictest bonds of amity: they resided together for a long time; nor was their cordiality interrupted by a circumstance generally thought to be peculiarly trying to female friendship: Monsieur de Villarceaux, attached to mademoiselle d'Aubigné, was seduced by the more *piquant* charms of her friend; two children were the fruit of this connexion, who, soon after their birth, were separated from their mother.

A singular and melancholy fate attended the elder of these sons: brought up in ignorance of his parents, at the age of nineteen, having been carefully educated, he was introduced to his mother, that he might receive at her house the finishing polish to his manners. Ignorant of the relation in which he stood to his captivating hostess, he quickly became enamoured of her attractions, and at length declared to her his sentiments; when his urgency forced from Ninon the secret of his birth. Struck on this intelligence with mingled horror, grief, and shame, he rushed from her presence, and, seizing a pistol, put, in the frenzy of the moment, a period to his existence, and

† 'I leave in the world only dying persons.'

‡ "In forming the heart of Ninon, wise and indulgent nature gave to her the voluptuousness of Epicurus and the virtue of Cato."

his ill-fated love. Ninon was sensibly affected by this catastrophe, which for some time threw a cloud over her enjoyments.

Cardinal Richelieu, according to Voltaire, was the first lover of mademoiselle de l'Enclos, and the only one to whom in granting favours, she consulted her interest rather than her inclination. A pension of 2000 livres was settled on her by the gratitude of the cardinal. To the count de Coligny, the last of that illustrious house, she was for some time attached: by her instances the count was induced to abjure protestantism, which prejudiced his interest, and to return to the bosom of the church. Their mutual tenderness subsided by degrees into a tranquil friendship. St. Evremond obtained her favour, and held a high place in her estimation. Huygens, the Dutch philosopher (who discovered, while he was in France, one of the moons of Saturn), left the study of the stars to read in the eyes of Ninon more interesting intelligence: to convert into a lover and a poet,* a great mathematician, was one of the miracles reserved for her charms.

A humorous anecdote is related in connexion with the attachment of monsieur de Villarceaux to Ninon: his lady, a woman of beauty and merit, was justly piqued at the infatuation of her husband: even, after his death, she retained her resentment and dislike to her rival, whose name she would not suffer to be pronounced in her presence. One day, in a large company assembled at her house, her son entered, led by his tutor. Many encomiums and compliments were lavished by the company upon the young gentleman, when the fond mother, willing to justify the praises of her friends, desired the preceptor to interrogate his pupil on the last lesson he had learned: '*Allons, monsieur le marquis*,' said the grave tutor; '*Quem habuit successorem Belus rex Assyriorum?*' '*Ninum*,' replied the youth. Madame de Villarceaux, struck with the resemblance between the words *Ninum* and *Ninon*, became exceedingly angry. 'What fine instructions,' exclaimed she, unable to suppress her emotion, 'you give my son, that he should be entertained with the follies of his father!' The preceptor, confounded and alarmed, had some difficulty to appease the lady, and to convince her of the innocence of his intentions. The

* Huygens wrote verses upon Ninon.

story spread through the city, and afforded to Ninon much ridicule and amusement.

A tale is also told of Ninon and Bourdalou, the most celebrated preacher of his times, greatly to the honour of the latter. Ninon piqued herself upon having in her train all the great men of the age of Lewis XIV., so illustrious for the talents which it produced. Attracted by the reputation of Bourdalou, she feigned sickness, and sent to entreat his spiritual consolation. The father, on his arrival, found the lady dressed with the most refined coquetry, reclining on a couch, in an elegant and voluptuous attitude, surrounded by every allurement that could seduce the imagination, or captivate the senses. In vain, on this occassion, Ninon practised her fascinations, and displayed all her graces. 'I see not,' said the good man, coldly, 'that your malady is either of the mind or the body. You appear to me to be in perfect health. I will implore the grand physician of souls that he will heal you.' Having thus spoken, he departed, leaving Ninon covered with a just confusion.

Among the most favoured of her admirers, was the marquis de Sevigné, whose mother has, by her letters and by her genius, acquired a lasting fame. The prince of Condé, the duke de Rochefoucault, with other names of rank and celebrity, were enrolled in the list of the captives of this Circe. The Great Prior of Vendome became also fascinated by her charms, and ceased not to importune her with his pretensions, while the preference she gave to his rivals extorted from him bitter reproaches. Provoked at the indifference with which she listened to his complaints, he one day quitted her apartment in a transport of anger, after throwing on her toilet a paper containing the following lines:

" Indigne de mes feux, indigne de mes larmes,
Je renonce sans peine à tes foibles appas:
Mon amour te prêtoit des charmes,
Ingrate, tu n'en avois pas."

Ninon, in reply, parodied his verses:

" Insensible à tes feux, insensible à tes larmes,
Je te vis renoncer à mes foibles appas:
Mais si l'amour prête des charmes,
Pourquoi n'en empruntois tu pas ?"

The maréchal de Choiseul likewise courted her favour in vain: to soften the rigour with which she treated him, he one day enumerated to her his accomplishments and good qualities. Scornfully turning from him, she repeated from Corneille, "O Ciel! que de vertus vous me faites haïr!"*

In contemning chastity, she was far from relinquishing every virtue: a circumstance in which she manifested her integrity, entitled her to the name of "*La belle gardeuse de cassette.*"† Monsieur de Gourville, one of her lovers, having killed in a duel a man of considerable consequence in France, and being obliged to fly his country, left behind him two caskets, filled with money and jewels: one of these he entrusted to the charge of a devotee, the other to that of mademoiselle de l'Enclos. On his return, he applied first to the devotee, who told him that, preferring the good of his soul to that which would have damned it, he had employed the contents of the casket in works of charity. Monsieur de Gourville, much chagrined, was obliged to accept this answer, and to submit to his loss. His confidence thus cruelly disappointed, he dared not apply to his mistress, persuaded that he ought not to hope, from a woman of her profession, for better success. Ninon, surprised at his non-appearance, sent to request him to come to her house. 'Ah, Gourville!' said she to him, as he entered, 'a great misfortune has happened during your absence.' Gourville, anticipating the loss of his treasures, remained silent, while Ninon continued, 'If you still love me, the misfortune is irreparable, since I have lost my inclination for you; but, with my love, I have not lost my memory. Behold the casket which you entrusted to my care, and with it I offer you my friendship.' Gourville examined the casket, and found its contents undiminished, or rather they had increased in worth, the value of specie having risen during the interval. Delighted with her integrity, he swore to Ninon an eternal friendship, and insisted on rewarding her fidelity and care. But his entreaties were fruitless; satisfied with having performed a duty, Ninon nobly refused to accept any acknowledgment.

In the beginning of the regency of Anne of Austria, a quarrel between two men of high rank, the admirers of Ninon,

* 'Heavens! how many virtues do you make me hate!'

† "The beautiful guardian of the casket."

disturbed the peace of the court: the queen was advised by some of her friends to put the fair cause of this contention into a convent. Mademoiselle de l'Enclos, informed of what was passing, replied, 'that provided her majesty would place her in a convent of Cordeliers,* she should be well content.' The storm blew over, and the regent, whose temper was mild and indulgent, permitted Ninon to retain her liberty. She had a peculiar aversion to the vice of inebriety, and banished Chapelle from her house on that account: by this severity he was converted into her inveterate enemy, and made a vow, that he would not go to bed for one whole month without first intoxicating himself, and writing against Ninon a satirical song. He kept his word at his own expense.

In the latter periods of her life, her title was changed from *Ninon galante* to *Ninon philosophe:* she purchased a house near the *Palace-Royale*, which she furnished with taste and elegance. The little *Hotel de Rambouillet*, the name by which it was called, became the receptacle of the best company in Paris. Persons of the highest rank were solicitous to introduce their sons to the assemblies of mademoiselle de l'Enclos (where women of character and condition resorted without scruple), to qualify them for appearing with advantage in the world. Ninon, amidst the lustre conferred on her by her talents, did not always escape sarcasm; nor were the levities of her youth forgotten. One day, at an academy, in a brilliant assembly, she imprudently betrayed symptoms of weariness in the middle of a fine discourse. The academician, piqued at her behaviour, revenged himself upon her inattention in a severe epigram. But if she experienced some transient mortifications, innumerable panegyrics flattered and consoled her.

Rémond, who affected to be a Platonist, and who really possessed merit, declared that he owed to mademoiselle de l'Enclos all his knowledge. Ninon being told that Rémond boasted every where, 'that she had formed him,' replied 'that she had then done as God did, who repented himself that he had made man.' The abbe Tétu, who had grown devout after having been a debauchee, became ambitious of converting mademoiselle de l'Enclos. 'He believed,' said she, 'that my con-

* A monastery for men.

version would do him honour, and that the king would give him an abbey: but if he does not make his fortune but through my soul, he will run the risk of dying without a benefice.'

Ninon preserved her attractions to an advanced age: the abbé de Châteauneuf, having sighed for her some time, demanded why she treated him with so much rigour? 'I wait,' said she, 'for my birth-day, when I shall have completed my seventieth year.' A still more extraordinary anecdote is told of this lady: in 1696, the abbé Gedoyn, a young man, nine-and-twenty years of age, of uncommon merit, was presented to her. The remains of her beauty, or rather the charms of her conversation, inspired the abbé with an ardent passion. With some difficulty he prevailed on his mistress to listen to his suit, and to become *Ninon galante* once again for his happiness. A certain hour was fixed upon, the abbé was true to his appointment, and, transported with his good fortune, inquired why it had been so long delayed: 'Forgive me, my dear abbé,' replied the lady, 'if from a small share of vanity, which I could not forbear indulging, I was willing, for the novelty of the amour, to wait till I had attained my eightieth year, which I did last night.' The similarity of these two stories makes it appear probable, that they might take their rise from but one and the same incident. The connexion of Ninon with her last lover continued a year, when, to the affliction of the gallant, the lady thought proper to dissolve it. The abbé continued attached to her as a friend, and visited her frequently during the remainder of her life. After this adventure, mademoiselle de l'Enclos became punctual in her attendance at church, and confessed, and received the viaticum, with an appearance of great devotion.

After the elevation of madame de Maintenon, she forgot not her friend Ninon, to whom she sent a message, 'that, on condition of her becoming devout, and thinking seriously of a future state, she would provide her an apartment at court, and increase her fortune.' Mademoiselle de l'Enclos replied, 'that she neither wanted fortune nor a mask; that she was satisfied with the conversation of a few friends, and the enjoyment of an income of 8,000 livres; nor would she change conditions with madame de Maintenon, herself, to endure the same con-

straint.' This reply does credit to the good sense of Ninon, who never complained of her situation, while madame de Maintenon was the victim of *ennui*.

Voltaire, then a boy, was presented to mademoiselle de l'Enclos when she was eighty-five years of age. She was much pleased with him, and appeared to have a presage of his future eminence; she bequeathed to him, by her will, 2000 livres to purchase books.

Mademoiselle de l'Enclos died at Paris, October 17th, 1706, in her ninety-first year, regretted by her friends and numerous acquaintance. The approach of death produced no alteration in the tranquillity of her mind; she preserved to the last her engaging manners, and even the brilliancy of her wit: a few hours before her death she composed the following lines:

" Qu'un vain espoir ne vienne point s'offrir,
Qui puisse ébranler mon courage;
Je suis en âge de mourir,
Que ferois-je ici davantage?"

It was justly said of her, ' that she carried the flowers of spring to a late autumn.' A French writer thus speaks of her: " She united to the virtues of our sex all the graces of her own, which rendered her superior even to some of the greatest men."

A few of her letters* remain, some of which are printed in St. Evremond's collection: the abbé de Châteauneuf possessed many, which, with his papers, were, when dying, burnt by his orders. She wrote with spirit, ease and elegance. The following epitaph was composed by the abbé de Châteauneuf to her memory:

" Il n'est rien que la mort ne dompte:
Ninon, qui près d'un siècle a servi les amours,
Vient enfin de finir ses jours;
Elle fut de son sexe, et l'honneur et la honte.

Inconstant dans ses desirs,
Delicate dans ses plaisirs;
Pour ses amis, fidele et sage,
Pour ses amans tendre et volage;

* Those published under her name, in a volume, are spurious.

Elle fit régner dans son cœur,
Et la gallanterie, et l'austère pudeur;
Et montra ce que peut le triomphant mélange,
Des charmes de Venus, et de l'esprit d'un Ange."

Voltaire—Dictionnaire Historique, &c.—Anne Thicknesse's Sketches of the Lives and Writings of the Ladies of France.

EMMA.

A story which is told of this princess, who is mentioned with distinction by historians, savours, it must be confessed, of romance and fable. Emma was the daughter of Richard II. duke of Normandy, the wife of Ethelred, king of England, and the mother of Edward *the Confessor*. She accompanied her husband, who was compelled to quit his kingdom, with his sons Alfred and Edward, to Normandy; and, at his death, espoused Canute the Great, whose superior qualities and kind treatment tenderly attached her to him, and rendered her indifferent to the children of her former marriage.

She appears to have been a woman of political intrigue, and, during the reign of her son Edward the Confessor, to have had a share in the government. The earl of Kent, who had exercised great authority in the preceding reigns, became jealous, it is said, of the credit of Emma at court; and, having gained many of the nobles to his party, charged her before the king with several crimes. The monarch, simple and credulous, or probably influenced by some resentment from the past conduct of his mother, gave ear to the allegations of Kent, and going suddenly to Winchester, where Emma resided, deprived her of her treasures, under the pretence that they had been unjustly acquired, and treated her with great severity.

Thus humbled and impoverished, she had recourse, for relief, to the bishop of Winchester, to whom she was related. Her enemies, according to the legend which respects this princess, availing themselves of this circumstance, spread reports which affected her honour, respecting her frequent conferences with the prelate. Robert archbishop of Canterbury, in support of the accusations of Kent, brought against the queen three criminal charges: first, that she had consented to the death of

her son Alfred; secondly, that she had endeavoured to prevent Edward from ascending the throne; and thirdly, that she held a scandalous and criminal correspondence with Alwine bishop of Winchester.

A synod was, by order of the king, convened by the archbishop, to investigate the accusations against Emma. By this ecclesiastical court it was decred, that the queen-mother should, to prove her innocence, submit to the fiery ordeal; a curious method of trial in the days of superstition and credulity, of which the following is a description: the person accused was to walk, with naked feet, over nine plough-shares, made red hot: if she escaped unhurt, her innocence was presumed, and her safety imputed to an especial interposition of Providence; if otherwise, she was compelled to submit to the penalty of her guilt.

The queen, it is related, passed the night previous to her trial in prayer before the tomb of St. Swithin; and, strange to tell, the next day, in presence of the king, the assembled nobility, clergy, and people, in the cathedral church of Winchester, walked unhurt over the burning plough-shares. She appeared plainly dressed, her feet and legs uncovered to the knee, and during the ordeal had her eyes constantly raised towards heaven. Her innocence proved so miraculous a preservation, that she was not even sensible of any reflection from the heated irons, but inquired, with much simplicity, after having passed over them, when they designed to bring her to the test. On being told that all was over, she gave thanks to God for this public manifestation of the falsehood of her accusers.

The king, struck with the miracle, fell on his knees before his mother, and implored her pardon; while, to expiate the injury done both to her and her relation, the reverend prelate, he devoutly laid bare his shoulders before the bishop, whom he ordered to inflict on him the discipline of the scourge. This edifying ceremony having been performed, the plough-shares, in memory of the miracle, were buried in the cloister of Winchester; and twenty-one manors, of which three were given by the king, nine by queen Emma, and nine by the archbishop, were settled on the bishopric and church of Winchester.

Rapin appears to want faith in this story: how, he observes,

could the queen, who had just before been deprived by the king of all her possessions, make this bequest to the church? In contradiction to this account, he adds, that Emma, stripped by Edward of the immense treasures which she had amassed, spent the last ten years of her life in misery, in a kind of prison or monastery at Winchester; whence, in 1502, she was delivered by death.

History of England—Bayle's Historical Dictionary—The Female Worthies.

EPONINA.

The following little history has in it something so peculiarly interesting and affecting, that it can scarcely be read without the most lively emotion.

During the struggles of Otho, Vitellius, and Vespasian, for the sovereignty of Rome, and in the unsettled state of the empire, Sabinus, a native of Langres, an ambitious and wealthy man, of high quality, put in his claim, among others, to the possession of the throne. Encouraged by his countrymen to this bold undertaking, he pretended, by casting an imputation on the chastity of his grand-mother, to trace his lineage from Julius Cæsar. Having revolted against the Romans, he caused himself, by his followers, to be saluted emperor.

But his temerity and presumption quickly received a check: his troops, who were defeated, and scattered in all directions, betook themselves to flight; while of those who fell into the hands of their pursuers, not one was spared. In the heart of Gaul, Sabinus might have found safety, had his tenderness for his wife permitted him to seek it. Espoused to Eponina, a lady of admirable beauty and accomplishments, from whom he could not prevail upon himself to live at a distance, he retired from the field of battle to his country-house. Having here called together his servants, and the remnant of his people, he informed them of his disaster, and of the miscarriage of his enterprise; while he declared to them his resolution of putting a voluntary period to his existence, to escape the tortures prepared for him by the victors, and avoid the fate of his unfortunate companions. He proceeded to thank them for their ser-

vices, after which he gave them a solemn discharge: he then ordered fire to be set to his mansion, in which he shut himself up; and of this stately edifice in a few hours nothing remained but a heap of ashes and ruins.

The news of the melancholy catastrophe being spread abroad, reached the ears of Eponina, who, during the preceding events, had remained at Rome. Her grief and despair on learning the fate of a husband whom she dearly loved, and who had fallen a victim to his tenderness for her, were too poignant to be long supported. In vain her friends and acquaintance offered her consolation; their efforts to reconcile her to her loss served but to aggravate her distress. She determined to abstain from nourishment, and to re-unite herself in the grave to him without whom she felt existence to be an intolerable burthen.

For three days she persevered in her resolution. On the fourth, Martial, a freedman, who had been a favourite domestic in the service of her husband, desired to be admitted by his mistress to a private conference, on affairs of the utmost importance.

In this interview, Eponina learned, with an emotion that had nearly shaken to annihilation her languid and debilitated frame, that Sabinus, whom she so bitterly lamented, was still living, and concealed in a subterraneous cavern under the ruins of his house, where he waited with impatience to receive and embrace his beloved and faithful wife. This scheme had been concerted in confidence with two of his domestics, in whose attachment Sabinus entirely confided. It had been hitherto concealed from Eponina, that, through her unaffected grief on the supposed death of her husband, greater credit might be given to a report on which his preservation entirely depended. To these welcome tidings, Martial presumed to add his advice, that his lady should still preserve the external marks of sorrow, and conduct herself with the utmost art and precaution.

Eponina promised, with transport, to observe all that was required of her, however difficult might be the task of dissimulation; and to endure yet a short delay, lest suspicion should be awakened, of the meeting which she anticipated with so much tenderness and joy.

At length, devoured by a mutual anxiety, this affectionate pair could no longer sustain a separation. By the management of the faithful freedman, Eponina was conveyed in the darkness of the night to the retreat of her husband, and brought back, with equal secrecy, to her own house before the dawning of the ensuing day. These visits were repeated, with the same precautions, and with great peril, during seven months, till it was at last determined, as a plan which would be attended with less inconvenience, and even with less danger, that Sabinus should be conveyed by night to his own house, and kept concealed in a remote and private apartment. But this project, in its execution, was found to abound in unforeseen difficulties: the extensive household and numerous visitants of Eponina, who feared to change her manner of life, kept her in continual terror of a discovery, and harassed her mind with insupportable inquietude. Sabinus was therefore again removed to his subterranean abode, whose darkness *love* illumined.

The intercourse between the husband and wife thus continued for nine years, during which interval the pregnancy of Eponina afforded them at one time the most cruel alarm. But this interesting and amiable woman, by a painful but ingenious stratagem, contrived to elude suspicion and satisfy inquiry. She prepared an ointment, which, by its external application, produced a swelling of the limbs, and dropsical symptoms, and thus accounted for the enlargement of her shape. As the hour of her delivery drew near, she shut herself, under pretence of a visit to a distant province, in the cavern of her husband; where, without assistance, and suppressing her groans, she gave birth to twin-sons, whom she nurtured and reared in this gloomy retreat.

Conjugal and maternal affection thus united, while time and impunity had in some measure allayed her fears, drew her more frequently to the place which contained the objects of her cares, till her absences gave rise to curiosity and suspicion. She was at length traced to the cavern of the ill-fated Sabinus; who, being seized and loaded with irons, was, with his wife and children, conveyed to Rome.

Eponina, distracted at the consequence of her imprudence, rushed into the presence of the emperor Vespasian, and, presenting to him her children, prostrated herself at his feet.

With the eloquence of a wife and a mother, she pleaded the cause of her husband, and, after having extenuated his fault, as proceeding from the disorders of the times, rather than from personal ambition, from the calamities of civil war, and the evils of oppression, she thus proceeded to address the emperor: 'But we have waited, sire, till these boys shall be able to join to those of their mother their sighs and tears, in the hope of disarming your wrath by our united supplications. They come forth, as from a sepulchre, to implore your mercy, on the first day in which they have ever beheld the light. Let our sorrow, our misfortunes, and the sufferings we have already undergone, move you to compassion, and obtain from you the life of a husband and a father.' The spectators melted into tenderness and pity at the affecting spectacle; every heart was moved, every eye was moist, but that of a pitiless tyrant, deaf to the voice of nature, and inaccessible to her claims.

In vain did this heroic and admirable woman humble herself before a monster, whose heart ambition had seared, inexorable in cruelty, and stern in his resolves. To political security the rights of humanity were sacrificed, and the husband and the father coldly doomed to death.

Eponina, determined to share the fate of her husband, wiped away her tears, and, assuming an air of intrepidity, thus addressed the emperor: 'Be assured,' said she, in a firm and dignified tone, 'that I know how to contemn life. With Sabinus I have existed nine years in the bowels of the earth, with a delight and tranquillity untasted by tyrants amidst the splendors of a throne; and with *him* I am ready to unite myself in death, with no less cheerfulness and fortitude.'

This act of ill-timed severity threw a stain upon the character and memory of Vespasian, whose temper in other respects had not been accounted sanguinary. The generous affection and heroism of Eponina was consecrated in the admiration of future ages.

The Lives of the Roman Empresses, by Monsieur de Serviez.—Plutarch.

ERINNA.

A Poetess of Teos, who composed epigrams, and a poem in the Doric dialect, consisting of three hundred verses.

She died at the early age of nineteen, during the reign of Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse.

Biographium Fœmineum.

MARIA D'ESTRADA.

Maria D'Estrada, the wife of a soldier of Fernandez Cortez, followed her husband to Mexico, where she fought by his side, and performed extraordinary exploits of valour, to the astonishment and admiration of all who beheld her.

Dictionnaire Historique.

ETHELFLEDA.

Ethelfleda, or Elfleda, eldest daughter of Alfred the Great, was wife to Ethelred earl of Mercia. After the birth of her first child, having suffered severely in child-birth, she made a vow of chastity, and devoted herself to arms. She preserved for her husband, with whom she united in acts of munificence and valour, a cordial friendship. They assisted Alfred in his wars against the Danes, whom they prevented the Welsh from succouring. Not less pious than valiant, they restored cities, founded abbies, and protected the bones of departed saints.

After the death of her husband, in 912, Ethelfleda assumed the government of Mercia; and, emulating her father and brother, commanded armies, fortified towns, and took from the Danes all hopes of re-settling in Mercia. Then carrying her victorious arms into Wales, she compelled the Welsh, after several victories, to become her tributaries. In 918 she took Derby from the Danes; and, in 920, Leicester, York, &c. Having become famed for her spirit and courage, the titles of lady and queen were judged inadequate to her merit; to these she therefore received in addition, those of lord and king.

Her courage and activity were perpetually employed in the

service of her country, till death terminated her glorious career. She died during a war with the Danes, at Tamworth, in Staffordshire, in 922, and was interred in the porch of the monastery of St. Peter, in Gloucester, which she had in concert with her husband erected. She left a marriageable daughter, named Elswina.

Ethelfleda was deeply regretted by the whole kingdom, and by none more sensibly than by her brother Edward, to whom she proved equally serviceable in the cabinet and the field. Ingulphus, the historian, gives his testimony to the courage and masculine virtues of this princess.

Biographia Britannica—Biographium Fœmineum.

EURYDICE.

Eurydice, an Illyrian lady, is commended by Plutarch, for applying herself to study, though already advanced in years, and a native of a barbarous country, that she might be enabled to educate her children. She consecrated to the muses an inscription in which this circumstance is mentioned.

Bayle, &c.

EUSEBIA.

Eusebia, wife of Constance, was the protectrix of Julian, whom she raised to the rank of emperor; and, by the influence which her talents and beauty gave to her, saved him from the political fury of a prince who murdered without scruple those whom he distrusted or feared. Julian, indebted to Eusebia for life and empire, composed her eulogium.

LADY FALCONBERG.

Mary, third daughter of Oliver Cromwell, and second wife to Thomas lord viscount Falconberg, was distinguished for her talents, her spirit, and her beauty. Bishop Burnet, who styles her "a wise and worthy woman," adds, "that she was more likely to have maintained the post of protector than

either of her brothers; according to an observation respecting her, that those who wore breeches deserved petticoats better; but if those in petticoats had been in breeches, they would have held faster. After the deposition of Richard, of whose incapacity his sister was aware, she exerted herself in favour of Charles II. and is said to have greatly contributed towards the Restoration. It is certain that her husband was, by the committee of safety, sent to the Tower a short time before the return of Charles, in whose favour he held a distinguished place. Lady Falconberg was a member of the established church, and respected for her munificence and charity.

LADY ELIZABETH FANE.

It is uncertain whether this lady was the wife of Richard Fane, who married Elizabeth, the daughter and heir of Stidolph, and who was living towards the end of the reign of Henry VIII.; or of sir Thomas Fane, whose first wife was Elizabeth, daughter of sir Thomas Culpeper, of Bedgebury in Kent, who engaged in the rebellion of Wyat, in the first year of the reign of Mary. Lady Elizabeth Fane was the author of several psalms, meditations, and proverbs, printed by Robert Crowland, under the following title: "Lady Elizabeth Fane's twenty-one Psalms, and one hundred and two Proverbs. London, 1550, 8vo."

Ballard's British Ladies—The Female Worthies.

FANNIA.

Fannia, daughter of Pætus Thrasea, and grand-daughter of the celebrated Arria, was worthy of her illustrious descent. She lived under the reign of Domitian, and was distinguished for her courage and magnanimity. She followed her husband Helvidius twice into banishment; and became, a third time, herself an exile for his sake. Senecio, accused on the information of Metius Carus of having written the life of Helvidius, alleged, in his excuse, the intreaties of Fannia, who had furnished him with materials. Fannia, when sternly interrogated

on the subject, boldly acknowledged the charge, without shrinking from its consequences, but denied the cognizance of her mother, whom there was a design to involve in the transaction. The book was condemned and suppressed, and Fannia (her effects being confiscated) sentenced to exile, whither she carried the memoirs that had been the cause of her sentence. Thus, in the midst of a corrupt age, she preserved the Roman intrepidity and spirit.

To courage and magnanimity, she added great sweetness of temper, cheerfulness, and humanity. It was the custom at Rome, for ladies to be appointed by the high-priest to take charge of the vestal virgins whom sickness or accident compelled to leave their temples. Fannia having been named for this office of humanity, injured her own health, and contracted a severe indisposition, by the extraordinary care and tenderness with which she attended Junia, a vestal, and her relation, during a fit of sickness.

Bayle's Historical Dictionary—Biographium Fœmineum.

MARIE-MADELINE PIOCHE DE LA VERGNE,

COMTESSE DE LA FAYETTE.

The comtesse de la Fayette, daughter to count d'Aymar, field-marshal, and governor of Havre-de-Grace, formed one of the most illustrious ornaments of the age of Louis XIV. Respected at court, and esteemed by men of letters, the greatest characters of the times were among the number of her correspondents, and of her friends. By M. Huet, bishop of Avranches, she was more particularly regarded. The treatise of this prelate on the Origin of Romances, was occasioned by the *Zaide* of madame de la Fayette, which, on its first appearance, was attributed to Segrais. Her modesty led her to suffer others to enjoy the reputation of her writings; while she carefully concealed herself from the public. Voltaire observes of this lady, that "she was the first who introduced into a romance natural characters, neither exaggerated, nor overacting their parts, and who banished absurd and improbable incidents. As though," adds he, "the only end proposed by the writers of these works was to excite wonder and amazement, instead of copying human nature."

Madame de la Fayette substituted for the extravagant fictions of her predecessors, stories full of nature, of sentiment, and of that delicacy of passion, which moves the affections and touches the heart. Her Princess de Montpensier, Princess of Cleves, and the Romance of Zaide, are among the most ingenious and celebrated of her productions. This lady died in May, 1693.

Dictionnaire Historique, &c.—Anne Thicknesse's Sketches of the Lives and Writings of the Ladies of France.

CASSANDRA FIDELLE.

CASSANDRA, born at Venice, in the year 1465, was the daughter of Angelo Fidelle, and of Barbara Leonia. She was celebrated for her skill in the learned languages, her profound erudition, and knowledge of the sciences. She composed a volume of Latin poems, was highly esteemed by Angleus Politianus, and praised by Fulgosius.* She embellished even theology by the graces of her style and manner; maintained theses with great reputation, and frequently gave public lectures at Padua. She joined to erudition, and a knowledge of the sciences, a taste for the fine arts, particularly for music. She received homage from kings and pontiffs, and lived more than a century. She was not less respected for her virtues, than admired for her talents.

Bayle's Historical Dictionary.

SARAH FIELDING.

SARAH, sister to Henry Fielding, was the author of David Simple, and of several other ingenious novels. She also translated Xenophon's *Memorabilia*. In 1753 she published a dramatic novel, entitled "The Cry," in three volumes. The following eulogium of this lady was composed by her friend, Dr. John Hoadly, who erected a monument to her memory:

Her unaffected manners, candid mind,
Her heart benevolent, and soul resign'd,
Were more her praise than all she knew or thought,
Though Athens' wisdom to her sex she taught.

* Rerum Mirabilium. L. i. c. 3.

ANNE FINCH,

COUNTESS OF WINCHELSEA.

Anne, daughter of sir William Kingsmill, of Sidmonton in Southampton, knt., and maid of honour to the second wife of James II., gave her hand to Heneage, second son of the earl of Winchelsea. In 1713 she published a collection of poems, and a tragedy, entitled "Aristodemus." She died April 5, 1720.

MARY FISCHER.

Mary Fischer, a female quaker, moved by the spirit of enthusiasm, was seized with a desire of preaching the dogmas of her sect to the grand-signior, in his court at Adrianople. Having traversed all Italy, she embarked at Smyrna in a vessel of that nation. But her design being discovered before she left the port, she was taken from the ship, and sent back to Venice. This opposition served but to inflame her zeal, and to determine her to travel by land to Adrianople. She obtained, when arrived, an audience of Mahomet IV.; who, surprised at her courage, and at the tone in which she addressed him, regarded her as deranged, and gave an order, that she should be reconveyed to her own country in the first vessel that sailed. On her return, she was received in triumph by the quakers, who, to recompense her zeal, gave her for a husband one of the prophets of their sect.

Dictionnaire Historique des Femmes Célébrées.

MARGARET DE FOIX,

DUTCHESS D'EPERNON.

The chiefs of the League, in 1588, having resolved to ruin the duke d'Epernon, rendered him suspected at court, and obtained an order to arrest him in the Château d'Angoulême, of which he was governor. The magistrate, charged with the execution of this command, found means to seize the dutchess, whom, with a view to compel the duke to surrender, he placed

before the principal gate of the citadel, to which the troops under his command had laid siege.

In this situation, one of the officers by whom the dutchess was led was killed at her feet, and another mortally wounded. Calm amidst the dangers which menaced her, and insensible to the remonstrances of the enemy, who urged her to exhort her husband to surrender, she replied, magnanimously, that she knew not how to give ill counsel; nor would she enter into a treaty with murderers. 'In what terms,' said she, 'can a wife, who is afflicted only that she has but one life to offer for the honour and safety of her husband, persuade him to an act of cowardice?' She went on to declare, that she would shed, with joy, the last drop of her blood to add new lustre to the reputation of her husband; or to lengthen his existence but a single day. That she would be guilty of no weakness that should disgrace him; and that she would die with pleasure at the castle gate, for him, without whom she should abhor life even on a throne.

To the duke, whom they endeavoured to terrify by the danger which threatened his wife, she held out her arms, and implored him not to suffer his resolution to be shaken by any considerations which respected her safety. It was her wish, she told him, that her body might serve him for a new rampart against his enemies. On him, she declared, in whom alone she lived, depended her fortune and her fate. That by sacrificing himself he would gain no advantage, since she was determined not to survive him; but that to live in his remembrance, would, in despite of their adversaries, constitute her happiness and her glory.

The grace and energy with which she expressed herself, softened the hearts of the enemy, who deliberated on other means by which their purpose might be effected. In the interval the duke was relieved by his friends; when the dutchess, impatient to rejoin this beloved husband, of whom she had proved herself so worthy, without waiting till the castle gate was cleared, entered by a ladder at one of the windows, and was received with the honours and tenderness she merited.

La Gallerie des Femmes Fortes—Dictionnaire Historique.

FULVIA.

FULVIA, wife of Marc. Antony, possessed, in a female frame, the courage and the vices of a man. "She was a woman," says Plutarch, "not born for the distaff or housewifery; nor one that could be content with the power of ruling privately an ordinary husband; but a lady capable of advising a magistrate, and of governing a general of an army. Cleopatra, who owed great obligations to her, found no difficulty in reducing Antony to obedience, since he had learned submission in so good a school."

Antony was the third husband of Fulvia: she first married Clodius, the great enemy of Cicero; and, after his death, Curio, who was killed in Africa, before the battle of Pharsalia. After the battle of Philippi, Antony passed into Asia, to settle the affairs of the East. Fulvia, in the mean time, quarrelled with Octavius, who had returned to Rome, and took up arms against him. Having retired to Præneste, she drew thither the senators and knights who espoused her party, with whom she held councils of war. She harangued the soldiers, and accompanied them to the field of battle. Being defeated by Octavius, she escaped into Greece, and at Athens met her husband, who severely blamed her conduct, and, in anger, departed from her abruptly. Mortified by her defeat, and by the censures of Antony, the conflicts of her mind brought on a malady which proved the cause of her death.

During the massacres committed by the triumvirate, in which Antony was a principal actor, Fulvia irritated him to yet farther cruelty; while, to gratify either her rapacity or her revenge, she caused several persons privately to be put to death. Her unwomanly and brutal treatment of the head of Cicero, which, by the orders of Antony, was brought to him among those who had been proscribed, displays her character in its most odious colours. Having placed it in her lap, she spat upon it, and, drawing out the tongue, pierced it repeatedly with her bodkin. "Behold," says Bayle, "a singular species of woman! There are some villains who exhibit, even in their crimes, a certain greatness of mind, from which we cannot withhold our admiration. But in an action like this, we perceive

only meanness, cowardice, and baseness, which at once provokes our indignation and contempt."

Bayle's Historical Dictionary—Biographium Fœmineum.

LEONORA GALLIGAI.

Leonora Galligai, a Florentine, the daughter of a joiner, and the nurse of Mary de Medicis, by whom she was greatly beloved, accompanied Mary into France on her marriage with Henry IV. in 1606. Leonora, plain in her person, but possessed of wit and talents, wholly governed the queen her mistress, whom she attended as woman of the bed-chamber. She gave her hand to Concino Conceni, afterwards marshal d'Ancre, who was also a native of Florence, and who came into France with the queen. Conceni, through the influence of his wife, rapidly obtained wealth and employments. The domestic jars which embittered the life of Henry IV. are attributed to the machinations of this Florentine pair, who found their account in abusing the confidence of their mistress.

After the death of Henry, the Concenis, by their ascendency over the queen, obtained yet greater powers; and, by their rapacity and insolence, offended the nobles, and disgusted the nation. The marquisate of Ancre in Picardy was purchased by Conceni; who was also made governor of Amiens, Peronne, Roie, and Montdidier. He was afterwards created a marshal of France, and first gentleman of the bedchamber to the young king. Two hundred gentlemen attended him when he appeared in public, beside the servants to whom he allowed wages, and whom he was accustomed to call his 'thousand-livre poltroons.' He removed at pleasure the counsellors of the king, whom he replaced with his own creatures; disposed of the finances, distributed the offices of state, and by terror crushed all who opposed him.

Leonora, thus arrived at the pinnacle of fortune, affected the most ridiculous fastidiousness. The princes, princesses, and first personages of the kingdom, were prohibited from coming to her apartments, while it was accounted a crime to look at her. The people terrified her, she declared, and made her dread lest they should bewitch her by gazing in her face.

Wearied at length by the complaints of his courtiers, and the exactions and caprices of the Italian favourites, Lewis XIII. determined to rid himself of their usurpations; for which purpose he gave a commission to Vitri, a captain of the guards, who received orders to dispatch Conceni, by pistols, on the drawbridge of the Louvre. This sentence was accordingly executed April 24, 1617. The body of the unfortunate favourite suffered, after his death, the vilest indignities. Torn out of the grave in which it had been deposited, it was dragged through the streets, mutilated and mangled with savage ferocity. The members were dissevered and scattered, the entrails thrown into the river, the flesh given to the dogs, and the miserable remains hung by the heels on a gallows, which had been erected by Conceni for those who opposed him: A striking lesson of the instability of human greatness.

The king, on hearing of the death of the marshal, who, supported by the queen-mother, had availed himself of the youth of Lewis to wrest from him the supreme power, expressed his joy on his deliverance from bondage. 'I thank you,' said he, looking out of a window: 'now I am indeed a king.' The bishop of Lucon (afterwards cardinal Richelieu), one of the marshal's favourites, and first secretary of state, coming into the chamber of the monarch, after the death of his patron, exclaimed aloud, 'Sire, let us thank God, we are this day freed from our tyrant.'

Leonora heard of the fate of her husband with little concern, except for her own interest. Without shedding a tear, or expressing a regret, she appeared solicitous only for the preservation of her jewels. Having enclosed them in her bed, she caused herself to be undressed and placed in it; but the officers of the provost, sent to search her chamber, compelled her to arise, and discovered the treasure. 'You have killed my husband,' said she, 'does not that satisfy you? Let me be permitted to leave the kingdom.' When informed of the indignities practised on the body of Conceni, she appeared somewhat moved, yet she shed no tears. After a pause, she declared that her husband had been a presumptuous insolent man, who had deserved his fate. It was three years, she added, since they had separate apartments; that Conceni was a bad man, and that, to rid herself of him, she had determined to retire into Italy, and had prepared every thing for her jour-

ney. This assertion she offered to prove. She behaved with great confidence, as if she had nothing to apprehend, and even expressed a hope of being taken again into favour.

She was first carried to the Bastile, and afterwards committed to the *Conciergerie*, or prison of the parliament, by which she was tried. Having been condemned to lose her head, and have her body consumed to ashes, she pleaded pregnancy; a plea which was over-ruled by her own confession, that she had lived apart from her husband for three years. Convicted of high treason against God and the king, she suffered her sentence with firmness and courage, July 8th, 1617.

She was accused, with her husband, of having judaized, and practised magic arts; which, with judicial astrology, were, in those times, seriously professed. On being questioned by counsellor Courtin, respecting the kind of sorcery which she had employed to gain an ascendency over Mary de Medicis, she sensibly replied, 'That she had used no other magic, than that power which strong minds possess over those that are weak.'

Bayle's Historical Dictionary—Biographium Fœmineum.

LADY GRACE GETHIN.

This lady, the daughter of sir George Norton, of Abbots-Langley, Somersetshire, bart. and of Francis his wife, was born in 1676, and educated by her mother, a woman of superior abilities. At an early period of life, she gave her hand to sir Richard Gethin, of Gethin-Grott, in Ireland, bart. She appears not long to have survived her marriage, since, according to the date on her monument in Westminster abbey, she expired, October 11, 1697, in the twenty-first year of her age. It is observed by Dr. Birch, in his "Anniversary Sermon," on the death of this lady, that to superior talents and endowments of mind, she joined meekness, candor, integrity, and piety. Her reading, observation, penetration, and judgment, were extraordinary for her years, and her conduct in every relation of life correct and exemplary.

Soon after her death, a posthumous work, compiled from loose papers which she had left, was published, under the title of "Reliquiæ Gethinianæ, or some Remains of the most ingenious and excellent Lady Grace Gethin, lately deceased. Being a Collection of choice Discourses, pleasant Apothegms, and witty Sentences; written by her, for the most Part, by way of Essay, and at spare Hours." London, 1700; 4to. This collection, to which a print of the author was prefixed, consisted of essays on friendship, love, gratitude, death, language, lying, idleness, the world, secresy, prosperity and adversity, children, cowards, censoriousness, indifference, revenge, courage, youth, age, custom, charity, reading, beauty, flattery, riches, honour, ambition, pleasure, jealousy, excuses, poets, &c.

For perpetuating the memory of lady Grace, provision was made for a sermon to be preached annually, on Ash-Wednesday, for ever, in Westminster abbey, where she was interred, and where a beautiful monument, with an inscription, enumerating her perfections, is erected to her honour.

A poem to the memory of lady Grace Gethin, "occasioned by reading her book, entitled *Reliquiæ Gethinianæ*," was composed by Mr. Congreve.

Ballard's British Ladies—The Female Worthies.

CECILIA DE GONZAGA.

Cecilia de Gonzaga, one of the most illustrious women of the fifteenth century, was the daughter of John Francis Gonzaga, lord of Mantua. She was instructed in polite learning by Victorinus of Feltri, who taught the belles-lettres with great reputation. Under his tuition the young Cecilia made an extraordinary progress: at eight years of age, she is said to have understood the declensions and conjugations of the Greek language, of which she gave a proof before the learned Ambrosius, general of the Camadoli, when he passed by Mantua, in 1432, to visit the houses of his order. Ambrosius, in the narration of his travels, mentions another journey, in which he saw a daughter of the lord of Mantua (believed to be the same young lady) who, at ten years of age, wrote Greek with scholastic elegance. Victorinus of Feltri, the preceptor of Cecilia, is spoken of as the restorer of the Latin language.

Paula Malatesta, wife to Francis Gonzaga, and mother of Cecilia, distinguished for her virtue, learning, and beauty, was the ornament and boast of Italy. In the midst of temptations to splendor and voluptuousness, she devoted herself to the severest virtues and the most rigid self-denial. Abstaining from all the luxuries of her rank and situation, she appropriated the sums usually expended in pomp and ornament to feeding the poor, giving portions to young women, to building and repairing the churches, &c. Cecilia caught the spirit, and imitated the conduct, of a mother whom she respected and loved: she imbibed also a contempt for the world, an enthusiastic zeal for religion, and a desire of devoting herself to a monastic life. This resolution was combated by her father, whose arguments and entreaties she resisted, and at length assumed the veil. Gregory Connarus, the pope's prothonotary, one of the most learned men of the fifteenth century, congratulates Cecilia Gonzaga, in a letter, on her contempt for the honours and pleasures of the world, and on having consecrated herself to God. He exhorts her to exchange the writings of the poets, with a taste for which she had been inspired by her preceptor Victorinus, for the works of the holy fathers.

How vain is the benevolence of nature, and how many have been the victims, in every age and country, at the shrine of superstition!

Bayle's Historical Dictionary—Biographium Fœmineum, &c.

ELEONORA GONZAGA.

Eleonora Gonzaga, daughter of Francis II. marquis of Mantua, and wife to Francis Maria de la Rovere, duke of Urbino, was, in the sixteenth century, illustrious for her virtues and her accomplishments, for her moderation in prosperity, and her constancy in adversity. Her husband being divested of his dutchy by Leo X. who deposed him in favour of his nephew, Lorenzo de Medicis, Eleonora was his consolation and support in his misfortunes: she soothed him by her affection, and sustained him by her magnanimity and fortitude. After the death of Lorenzo, the husband of Eleonora was restored to his dignity. Two sons and three daughters were the fruit of

their union. Eleonora, by the chastity and severity of her manners, reformed the morals of her court.

Bayle's Historical Dictionary—Biographium Fœmineum.

ISABELLA DE GONZAGA.

Isabella de Gonzaga, wife to Guido Ubaldo de Montefeltro, duke of Urbino, was aunt to Eleonora Gonzaga, whom she gave in marriage to Francis Maria de la Rovere, the successor of her husband in the dutchy of Urbino. This lady is deservedly celebrated for her conjugal fidelity, chastity, and attachment. Her husband, who had from their marriage laboured under a state of extreme ill-health and infirmity, was driven out of his dominions by Cæsar Borgia. In his distress he implored the assistance of France to restore him to his rights. Lewis XII. who had entered into an alliance with Alexander VI. father of Cæsar Borgia, dared not comply with the request of the duke, lest he should draw on himself the resentment of the house of Borgia. Thus circumstanced, the duke intimated to the king of France, that, such was the infirm state of his health, he was willing to enter into holy orders, and divorce Isabella, whom a ceremony, only, had made his wife. The dutchess, in consequence of this declaration of her husband, was powerfully solicited to make another choice, but nothing could shake her resolution and constancy. She devoted herself to the duke, in his adverse fortunes, with the most tender and faithful affection; and, at his death, her grief for his loss had nearly proved mortal. During his last illness she suppressed her tears, and stifled her feelings, lest she should affect or distress him: the moment he had breathed his last, she fell into a swoon, from which her attendants feared she would never revive. She reproached them on her recovery for calling her back to life, and abandoned herself to an excessive and unfeigned sorrow. She had been married twenty years, and devoted the remainder of her life to widowhood, and to the memory of a husband, whom she had loved, through all his misfortunes, with a constant and tender affection.

Bayle's Historical Dictionary—Biographium Fœmineum.

JULIA GONZAGA.

JULIA GONZAGA, dutchess of Traietta and countess of Fondi, wife to Vespasian Colonna, was the most beautiful woman of her age and country; nor was she less celebrated for her talents and learning. On the death of her husband, who was far advanced in years, she took for her device an amaranth, with the following motto *Non moritura*, which implied, though in the bloom of life, that her first love should be immortal. The fame of her beauty having reached Constantinople, Soliman, emperor of the Turks, enamoured by the report of her charms, sent an armed force to take her by violence from her friends, and bring her to ornament his haram. Ariadan Barbarossa, general of his sea-forces, was appointed by the grand-seignior to this enterprise. Having passed the straits of Messina, and coasted along Calabria, committing in his route great ravages, Barbarossa made a descent on the town of Fondi, where he arrived in the night, landed two thousand Turks, scaled the walls, took the town, and seized upon the castle, where the fair Julia was sleeping in her chamber. Alarmed by the confusion, she started from her bed, and escaped through the mountains; where, it is said, she fell into the hands of banditti, and encountered many perils in the defence of her honour and freedom. The disappointment of his enterprise rendered Barbarossa almost frantic.*

Julia was suspected of lutheranism; and is praised by Thuanus, Francis Billon, and other writers, for her talents and attainments. She was solicited in marriage by men of the first rank in Italy; but gave as a cause for her rejection of their offers the following reasons: should a second husband prove worthy, she should be perpetually in fear of losing him; and should he be unworthy, it would be difficult to support her lot; while, having once been married happily, the affection she cherished for her deceased husband could never be removed from her heart. She is accused of denying to a daughter of Vespasian Colonna, the fruit of a former marriage, the liberty which she asserted for herself; and of compelling the young lady,

* This adventure is said to have taken place in 1534.

without consulting her inclinations, to espouse Lewis Gonzaga, her brother.

Bayle's Historical Dictionary—Female Worthies—Brantome, &c.

LUCRETIA GONZAGA.

LUCRETIA, daughter of Pyrrhus Gonzaga, flourished in the sixteenth century, and was distinguished for her talents, her learning, and the delicacy and elegance of her style. Her letters, of which a collection was printed at Venice, 1552, were particularly eloquent and beautiful. A testimony of her learning appears in a letter to Robertel, in which she declares, that his Commentaries had enabled her to understand many obscure passages in Aristotle and Æschylus. The writers of her time were unanimous in her praise.

Lucretia ridiculed Dr. Lewis Picco, her relation, for teaching his daughters astrology; but, having been informed that it had been studied by Pericles and Sulpitius Gallus, and by them rendered serviceable to the Greeks and Romans, she desired to be instructed in its principles. She was skilful in logic and rhetoric, and read Euripides and Bandel her preceptor. Her letters were greatly admired, and eagerly collected. Hortensio Lando, with whom she corresponded, and who dedicates to her his dialogue "*Del temperar gli affetti dell' animo*,"* was zealous in her praise, and enumerated her perfections in an eloquent encomium. Hortensio is reproved by her for complaining of his poverty. "When I consider your learning, knowledge and experience," says she, "it surprises me to see you thus lament your poverty. Know you not, that the life of the poor resembles sailing near the shore? that of the rich is like tempting the deep. One reaches the land with safety, the other not without peril and difficulty." In another epistle, to Jerome Ruscelli, one of her great admirers, she thus expresses herself: "I have this day perused an anonymous pamphlet, celebrating my perfections; also the fine things which you have in a letter added to it. Your eloquent pen has pourtrayed me, not as I am, but as I ought to be."

* Upon moderating the passions of the soul.

Bandel dedicated to her one of his novels; in this dedication he tells her, that he hopes soon to present to her his poems, wholly composed in her praise, and which he wishes may render her immortal. In another passage of Matthew Bandel's, he thus addresses the sister of Lucretia: "To the illustrious and virtuous heroine, Isabella Gonzaga di Poccizno. It being too manifest to the world, how much I am indebted to the happy and honourable memory of the brave Peter Gonzaga, and the most noble lady Camilla Bentivoglio, your honoured parents, who showed me repeated marks of favour, that I must always remember with reverence, as my stanzas testify, which I composed to the honour of the most noble lady Lucretia, your sister, revered by the whole world, and to whom I was most affectionately devoted."

In the letters of Lucretia Gonzaga, the reader is informed, that her marriage at fourteen years of age, against her own consent, with John Paul Manfrone, proved unfortunate. Manfrone was inferior to his wife in rank, but she accommodated herself without reluctance to his situation, and answered a letter addressed to her on this occasion, by a monk who affected to lament what he considered as a degradation, in a noble strain of morality. Yet Paul Manfrone is said to have enjoyed advantageous posts in the Venetian army, and to have erected magnificent edifices. But his conduct afforded to Lucretia a more rational cause of concern: his temper was fierce and vindictive, and involved him in some unjustifiable actions, for which he was imprisoned by the duke of Ferrara, and detained some years in a severe captivity. He was even found worthy of death, but spared by the clemency of the duke.

His wife used every effort to procure his liberation, and to soften his misconduct. She implored the mercy of the duke by the most pathetic appeals; she also endeavoured to procure the interference and good offices of Paul the Third, of Julius the Third, of the sacred college, of the emperor, of the king of France, and of all the potentates of christendom. She importuned Heaven for assistance, and caused prayers to be offered up in all the convents and churches. Addressing Paul the Third, she thus expresses herself: "The whole territory of Vicenza, whence he drew his birth, implores your holiness in his behalf; as does the city of Padua, in which, while a youth,

he studied. The Polesin, in which he practised, built palaces, and planted gardens, jons in the petition; as does the district of Mantua, in which, during my early youth, I was contracted to him in marriage. The senate of Venice, in whose armies he served faithfully and honourably, petitions your holiness in his favour," &c. &c.

This unhappy wife, finding all her efforts in behalf of her husband fruitless, formed a resolution of addressing the emperor of the Turks, and imploring him, in a flattering and respectful epistle, to seize the fortress in which Paul was confined, without doing other injury to the christian powers. A perilous expedient, it must be confessed.

Though grateful to the duke of Ferrara, for sparing the life of an adversary who had conspired against him, she wished him to extend his generosity yet farther, and to give freedom to his prisoner. Her entreatics and exertions proved ineffectual; nor was she suffered to enter the prison, and console her husband by her presence. A written intercourse only was allowed to them.

Paul displayed a furious impatience which probably accelerated his fate. He died in prison not long after. His widow continued faithful to the memory of a man, who seems never to have possessed her esteem. Being solicited to contract a second marriage, she answered, with indignation, 'Scarcely have I dried the tears, and suppressed the sighs, which the destiny of my unfortunate husband extorted from me, when you press me to form new engagements. Know you not, that second marriages have been deemed unchaste? Virgil makes his Dido call them criminal. No, I will have no other husband than Jesus Christ, to whom I am resolved to dedicate my future life.' On another occasion, she frankly declared, that she had suffered too much in a conjugal state again to subject herself to the yoke, from which God had freed her, even though a husband, richer than Crœsus, wiser than Lelius, or handsomer than Nireus, should offer himself. Of four daughters which Lucretia bore to her husband, two only survived, whom she dedicated to a conventual life. Her writings were held in so much esteem, for the graces of her style, that even the notes she wrote to her domestics were carefully collected, and many of them preserved in the edition of her letters: she was a kind

mistress and extended her cares to the settling her domestics in life, as a reward of their services. She wrote many letters to her friends and acquaintance, on various subjects, in a strain of admirable morality.

Bayle's Historical Dictionary—Biographium Fœmineum.

LADY JANE GRAY.

Lady Jane Gray, eldest daughter of Henry Gray, marquis of Dorset, and duke of Suffolk, was not more distinguished for her illustrious descent, than for her endowments, her virtues, and unhappy destiny. On the side of her mother she was allied to the royal house of Tudor. Frances, dutchess of Suffolk, was the daughter of Charles Brandon, and of Mary his wife, queen-dowager to Lewis XII. of France, and daughter to Henry VIII. of England.

Jane, lovely in her person, gentle, modest, and amiable in her temper, endowed with a superior capacity, and powers of application uncommon for her sex and age, was educated with the young king, Edward VI., whom she emulated, and even surpassed, in every liberal attainment. She had, at a very early age, applied herself to the acquisition of the Greek, the Roman, the Arabic, Chaldee, with the French and Italian languages, and was conversant both with ancient and modern literature. She devoted herself more peculiarly to the study of philosophy, of which she became enamoured; nor was she unacquainted with the sciences and arts. She wrote a fine hand, was mistress of music, and excelled in the customary avocations of her sex. The theological controversies of the times also peculiarly engaged her attention. She possessed great sensibility of temper, with a devotional turn of mind, and had, on investigation, imbibed the principles of the Reformation. She is styled by Dr. Burnet, in his History of the Reformation, "The wonder and delight of all who knew her."

It is related of the lady Jane, that being, when very young, at Newhall in Essex, the seat of the lady Mary (afterwards queen), and walking near the chapel with lady Anne Wharton, she observed her companion as they passed bow low to the

sacrament, which was suspended on the altar. Affecting surprise at the motion of her friend, Jane interrogated her respecting the object of her homage: 'Is the lady Mary,' said she, 'at this hour in the chapel?' 'No,' replied her companion; 'I bend to him who made us all.' 'How is that?' retorted Jane, with quickness; 'can he be there that made us all, and yet the baker made him?' This sarcasm being reported to the lady Mary, laid, it is asserted, the foundation of her dislike to the innocent victim of the ambition of her family.

The predilection of the lady Jane for learning and philosophy, is attested by Roger Ascham, tutor to the princess Elizabeth, who calling at Brodegate in Leicestershire, previous to his quitting England, to take leave of the family of the duke of Suffolk, found Jane, while her parents with their household were hunting in the park, deeply engaged in the perusal of Plato's *Phædon*, in which she appeared to take peculiar delight. Mr. Ascham inquired, why she lost, in studies so grave, the pastime going forward in the park. She answered, smiling, because she found in reading Plato a pleasure of a more exquisite nature than hunting could have afforded to her. 'Alas, good people!' added she, 'they know not what true pleasure means.' 'And you, madam,' said Ascham, 'by what methods have you attained this superior discernment, rare even in our sex, and still more uncommon in yours?' 'I will tell you,' answered she; 'and I shall perhaps excite your surprise. Among the greatest benefits bestowed on me by God, were severe parents and a gentle tutor. In the presence of my father and mother, whether I speak or remain silent, whether I sit, stand, walk, eat, drink, am merry or sad, sew, dance, or however employed, an accuracy and perfection is required of me, as if I were not mortal. Should I fail, I am punished by threats, rebukes, even blows, and other methods, which the honour I owe my parents will not suffer me to repeat. When the period of my deliverance arrives, I return to Mr. Elmer, who instructs me in a manner so kind, so mild, so pleasant and alluring, that the hours pass away almost unconsciously. When obliged to quit him, I weep, and am overwhelmed with grief: every thing but learning brings me only sorrow, trouble, and disgust. Thus my studies have become my pleasures; pleasures which daily increase, and in comparison of which every other occupation is irksome.'

This conversation Mr. Ascham declares he treasured in his memory, as worthy of observation, and the last he ever enjoyed with this admirable young woman. Her talents and sweetness of manners endeared her to the young king, and induced him to yield with the greater facility to the projects of her father, and of the duke of Northumberland, whose fourth son, lord Guilford Dudley, espoused the lady Jane in May, 1553, two months previous to the decease of Edward. Northumberland represented to the young monarch, who, weakened by the infirm state of his health, was susceptible to every impression, that his sisters, Mary and Elizabeth, had both been declared illegitimate by parliament; and that though Henry by his will had restored them to the succession, their birth yet rendered them obnoxious to the people: that they were but his half sisters, and, even if legitimate, could not possess the crown as his heirs. He added, that the queen of Scots was excluded by the will of the late king, that she was also an alien by law, not to mention that being betrothed to the dauphin of France, the kingdom would by her succession, become a French province. That the abolition of the protestant religion, to which Edward was zealously attached, the repeal of the laws in its favour, and the re-establisment of the Roman superstitions, would necessarily follow either the reign of the queen of Scots, or of the princess Mary his sister: that both justice and interest required their exclusion, in which case the succession devolved on the dutchess of Suffolk, whose heir, the lady Jane, was fitted to adorn a throne, and to constitute the happiness of the nation. That even should her title by blood admit of objections, of which there was no just ground, the king, possessed of the same powers which his father had exercised might devise the crown, by letters patent, to whoever he might think proper to name.

These reasonings could not fail to move a young prince in the situation of Edward, whose predilection for the protestants made him tremble at the idea of devolving the crown to Mary, a bigotted catholic; while his tender affection for Elizabeth yielded to the persuasion, that to exclude one sister and admit the claims of another, would be considered as unkind and unjust.

As the health of the king continued to decline, no argu-

ments nor artifices were omitted by the subtle Northumberland to obtain his purpose, in which, by his industry and perseverance, he at length succeeded. Edward having given his consent to the projected settlement, it was in vain that the chief justice, the judges, and great officers, started difficulties and multiplied objections: threats, persuasions, and intrigues, over-ruled their resistance. Mary and Elizabeth being thus set aside, the crown was settled on the heirs of the dutchess of Suffolk, who was content to resign her rights in favour of her daughter. During the negotiation of this affair, many inauspicious circumstances occurred. The maladies of the king becoming daily more threatening, he was induced, by the counsel of Northumberland, to dismiss his physicians, and to resign himself to the care of an ignorant pretender. Dark suspicions were entertained by the courtiers, as the disorder of the king exhibited more fatal symptoms: his breath became laborious, he spoke with difficulty, his legs swelled, his countenance was livid, and his pulse failed. On the 6th of July, 1553, he expired at Greenwich, in the 16th year of his age, and the seventh of his reign.

Jane, humble and unambitious, absorbed in her studies, her mind devoted to elegant literature, and her heart full of tenderness towards her husband, whose merit justified her affection, received from her father-in-law the tidings of her advancement with equal astonishment, terror, and grief: rejecting the splendid destiny which courted her acceptance, she pleaded the preferable right of the princesses, while she declared that her principles would not suffer her to avail herself of the honours proffered to her. Having reminded her friends of the danger of public eminence, and the instability of human affairs, she concluded with an earnest expression of her preference to the safety and freedom of a private station. But vain was her opposition to the ambition of the dukes: her mother, her husband, whose persuasions, the sensibility of her heart rendered but too efficacious, joined to importune her: overpowered by their solicitude, and their united influence and authority, which she had been unaccustomed to resist, she at length yielded a reluctant assent, and sacrificed to her family her inclinations and her judgment.

Jane having been conveyed by Northumberland to the

Tower, where it was customary for the kings of England to pass the first days of their accession, orders were given to the council to proclaim throughout the kingdom the daughter of the duke of Suffolk. These commands were however executed but in London and its environs, where the proclamation was received with coldness, silence, and concern, and even in some instances with contempt and scorn. The protestant preachers exerted without success their eloquence in favour of the young queen: no effect was produced upon their audience. The people, prejudiced in favour of hereditary succession, flocked to Mary, the rightful heir, who, by courteous assurances and fair promises, allayed their apprehensions for the protestant religion. A fleet, stationed by Northumberland off the coast of Suffolk, and driven by a storm into Yarmouth, was engaged to declare in favour of Mary.

The mists which ambition had spread round Northumberland beginning to disperse, he saw, without power to avert it, the gathering tempest: he had levied forces, which were assembled at London, but dreading the cabals of those whose compliance fear or artifice had extorted, he appointed Suffolk to the command, while he remained himself near the person of Jane. The counsellors intent on displacing him from his station, availed themselves of the filial piety of the young queen, to whom they exaggerated the danger of her father, while they insinuated, that Northumberland, who had gained reputation by the suppression of a former insurrection, was better fitted than Suffolk to take the lead in such an enterprise. The duke himself, conscious of the weakness of his coadjutor, began to adopt the same opinion, and agreed to accept the command of the troops. On his way to join the forces, he saw, and trembled as he observed, symptoms which foreboded the disastrous issue of his plans: 'Many,' said he to lord Gray, who attended him, 'come out to look at us, but no one cries *God speed you!*'

Perceiving his army too weak to encounter with that of Mary, by whose numbers it was doubled, he importuned the council for a reinforcement; who, availing themselves of the pretence, left the Tower, as if to execute his commands. Having deliberated on the path they should pursue, they quickly persuaded themselves, that one method only remained of

atoning for the conduct into which they had been betrayed: a prompt return to the rightful heir. This resolution being communicated to the mayor and aldermen, it was received with alacrity, and followed by the proclamation of Mary. The people expressed their approbation by shouts of applause: even Suffolk, who commanded in the Tower, finding resistance vain, opened the gates, and declared for the queen. Jane resigned with cheerfulness the pageantry with which she had been invested, declaring at the same time, that she returned to a private station with far greater pleasure than she had quitted it: she was convinced, she added, that she had been guilty of a fault in resigning her principles to authority, but that, in her present resignation, her inclinations and her judgment perfectly accorded.

Northumberland, deserted by his followers, and despairing of success, joined in the general voice in favour of Mary, with those external marks of satisfaction which courtiers, when their interests are concerned, so well know how to assume. His duplicity however availed him but little, he was taken into custody by orders from the queen; when, not less abject in distress than arrogant in prosperity, he fell on his knees, and supplicated for his life. His sons, with several other noblemen, were also seized and secured; while the duke of Suffolk, his daughter the lady Jane, with her husband lord Gilbert Dudley, were, as prisoners, committed to the Tower.

Mary, affecting popularity by the appearance of clemency, extended her pardon to the greater part of the counsellors, who, in excuse for their conduct, pleaded constraint. Even Suffolk, whose feeble capacity rendered him little formidable, recovered his liberty; but the guilt, the ambition, the activity of Northumberland, cut off from his friends all hopes of his escape.

He seemed to have recovered, when brought to trial, a portion of that courage which, in the sudden reverse of his fortunes, had wholly deserted him: having requested permission to propose two questions to the peers appointed as his jury, he demanded, whether a man who acte[illegible] obedience to orders delivered to him by the council, und[illegible]e great seal, could be guilty of treason? Also, whether those involved in the same offence, could, with propriety, sit as his judges? He

was informed in reply, that the great seal of an usurper was no authority, and that persons not under sentence of attainder were innocent in the eye of the law, consequently, might be eligible for a jury. In this answer he acquiesced, and pleaded guilty.

At his execution, whether from conviction or policy, with a view of rendering the queen more favourable to his family, he professed the catholic religion, and exhorted the spectators to return to the faith of their ancestors. Two persons more only suffered with him. Such was the conclusion of this daring enterprise.

Though sentence had been pronounced against the lady Jane and lord Guilford, who had neither of them attained their seventeenth year, no intention appeared of putting it in execution; so powerfully did their youth plead in their behalf. But the imprudence of Suffolk, not long after, precipitated theirs and his own fate. A rebellion, originating in the religious discontents of the nation, which was exposed to persecution from the bigotry of the queen, having broken out, headed by sir Thomas Wyat, Suffolk, with a view of recovering the crown for his family, joined the insurgents. His guilt and ingratitude were imputed to his children, whom the queen, with a narrow mind, incapable of distinguishing, or of real generosity, determined to sacrifice to her vengeance and her fears.

Warning was accordingly given to the lady Jane to prepare for death; a doom which the innocence of her life, and the misfortunes to which it was exposed, rendered but little formidable to her pious and reflecting mind. The queen, under an absurd pretence of care for the salvation of her victims, harassed the remnant of their lives with tiresome disputations. Priests, the most celebrated for their learning and acuteness, were commissioned to exhort the lady Jane to a change in her faith: for this important purpose, even three days' reprieve were graciously allowed. Neither arguments, flatteries, threats, nor promises, were spared to shake the firmness of the youthful heroine[redacted]se courage baffled the attacks of her persecutors. Having defended her opinions with ability and resolution, she addressed a letter to her sister, in the Greek language, accompanied by a copy of the Scriptures, and an exhortation to

maintain, in every trial, that fortitude and perseverance of which she trusted to give her the example. In the bloom and spring of life, she contemplated the approach of death with a true philosophical equanimity.

Her execution was announced to her by Feckenham, the queen's chaplain, who was commissioned to offer to her, at the same time, a reconciliation with the church of Rome. To the first part of his mission she listened without emotion; in reply to the latter, she told him, she had no leisure for farther controversy, but should devote the short remainder of her time to a preparation for her fate. On being informed by him, that three days' respite had been granted to her, for the purpose of endeavouring to procure her conversion, she answered, 'that her meaning had been misunderstood; that she desired not her life to be protracted, neither had she wished the queen to be solicited for such a purpose.' The chaplain proceeding to press her on points of religious difference, she discussed with him her objections to the doctrine and authority of the Romish church. The part which Jane sustained in this conference is highly commended by bishop Burnet, and other ecclesiastical historians.*

She wrote several letters, during her captivity, among which was one more particularly mentioned by historians, addressed to Dr. Harding, her father's chaplain, who had apostatised from his religion; and whom she exhorted, in an earnest and pathetic strain, citing from the Scriptures, and from church history, many passages in support of her purpose, to prefer his conscience to his safety. Bishop Burnet mentions having in his possession two Latin letters of the lady Jane, written in a chaste and simple style, and addressed to Bullinger, with whom she was entering on the study of the Hebrew, and for whom, in a strain of modesty and piety, she expressed great respect and deference. These letters, with two other Latin epistles, have been printed: one of them is addressed to Bullinger, the other to her sister, the lady Katherine Gray: they abound in pious exhortations and affectionate expressions; and were written the night before her execution[redacted]ome blank

* It is said in Hollinshed's Chronicle, that various excellent treatises were written by the lady Jane; but of their subjects, or where they are to be found, we have no information.

leaves of her Greek testament, which she had been previously perusing. She also composed for her own use a long prayer,* full of ardent expressions of devotion.

The evening before her death, she was again persecuted, by bishops and priests, with arguments and persuasions to die in obedience to the true church; but, finding all their importunities fruitless, they at length quitted her, as 'a lost and forsaken member.' She endured these impertinences with exemplary patience and temper, and returned their anathemas with prayers.

Her husband, on the day of her execution, intreated to be allowed a last interview with his wife; this she declined, alleging as her motive, that the tenderness of their parting would overcome the fortitude of both, and incapacitate their minds for the constancy and courage demanded by their approaching fate. Their separation, she added, was but for a moment, when they should re-unite never more to part, in scenes where neither disappointment, misfortune, nor death, would disturb their felicity. It had been intended to execute both the husband and wife on the same scaffold, but the council were justly apprehensive of the impression which this spectacle might make on the people: the youth, the beauty, the birth, the innocence, of the victims, could not fail of moving every heart. Jane was therefore ordered to be beheaded within the verge of the Tower, and lord Guilford to suffer on the hill.

Jane beheld from her window her husband led to execution; when, having given him some token of her remembrance, she awaited her own fate with tranquil firmness. On her way to the scaffold, whether through malice or inadvertence, she was met by the lifeless body of lord Guilford: this affecting spectacle forced from her some tears, which the report of his constancy and courage quickly dried, while it inspired her with new fortitude. Sir John Gage, constable of the Tower, having, as he led her to the scaffold, intreated her to bestow on him some memorial, which he might preserve for her sake, she presented to him her table-book, in which she had just written three sentences in Greek, Latin and English, suggest-

* Printed in Fox's Acts and Monuments of the Church.

ed to her mind by seeing the body of her husband; and which imported that he, whom human laws had condemned, would be saved by divine mercy; and that if her own fault was deserving of punishment, it would, she trusted, be extenuated by her youth and inexperience. She attested at the scaffold her innocence of intentional wrong, but without breathing the shadow of a complaint against the severity by which she suffered. Her crime, she said, had not been ambition, but the want of constancy to resist with sufficient firmness the instances of those whom she had been accustomed to revere and obey. She declared, that she submitted cheerfully to death, as the only reparation in her power to make to the injured laws. That if her infringement of those laws had been constrained, her voluntary submission to their sentence would, she hoped, be accepted as an atonement for the error into which filial piety only could have betrayed her. As the instrument of the ambitious projects of others, she confessed her punishment to be just; and trusted that her history would prove useful in demonstrating to all, that personal innocence is no excuse for actions which tend to the disturbance of the community. She concluded her remarks with a solemn profession of her faith, and devoutly repeated a psalm in English.

Rejecting the proffered assistance of the executioner, she caused herself to be disrobed by her women. The executioner, kneeling, implored her forgiveness, which she readily accorded to him, adding, 'I pray you dispatch me quickly.' Then kneeling, and saying, 'Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit!' she meekly submitted to her fate. This tragedy took place February 12th, 1553-4, when the admirable and heroic victim had scarcely completed her seventeenth year.

She is described by Dr. Fuller* as possessing the innocence of childhood, the beauty of youth, the solidity of maturity, and the gravity of age. "Her birth," says he, "was that of a princess; and with the learning of a scholar she led the life of a saint; and yet, for the offences of others, she was constrained to suffer the death of a malefactor."

Her father, the duke of Suffolk, paid the forfeit of his imprudence, and of his crimes: he was, soon after the death of his daughter, tried, condemned, and executed.

* Vid. Holy State, p. 311.

On the wall of the room in which the lady Jane was imprisoned in the Tower, she wrote with a pin the following lines:

" Non aliena putes homini quæ obtingere possunt :
Sors hodierna mihi, cras erit illa tibi."

" Think not, O mortal, vainly gay,
That thou from human woes art free;
The bitter cup I drink to-day,
To-morrow may be drunk by thee."

" Deo juvante, nil nocet livor malus,
Et non juvante, nil juvat labor gravis.
Post tenebras spero lucem."

" Harmless all malice if our God is nigh;
Fruitless all pains, if he his help deny.
Patient I pass these gloomy hours away,
And wait the morning of eternal day."

Hume's History of England—Ballard's British Ladies—Gibbon's Pious Women, &c.

CONSTANTIA GRIERSON.

CONSTANTIA, born in the county of Kilkenny, in Ireland, in 1706, was a prodigy of early talents and acquirements. We are told by Mrs. Pilkington, that this young woman was, at eighteen years of age, brought to the father of Mrs. Pilkington, to be instructed in midwifery; that she was then a perfect mistress of the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and French languages; and far advanced in the study of the mathematics: that her parents were poor, illiterate country people, who had no means of giving their daughter any advantages; " so that her learning appeared like the gift poured out on the apostles, of speaking all languages without the pains of study." Mr. Pilkington having inquired of her where she had gained this prodigious knowledge; she replied, modestly, that when she could spare time from her needle-work, to which she was closely kept by her mother, she had received some little instruction from the minister of the parish. " She wrote elegantly," says Mrs. Pilkington, " both in prose and verse; but the turn of her mind was chiefly to philosophical or divine subjects; nor was her piety

inferior to her learning." The most delightful hours, this lady declares, that she had ever passed, were in the society and conversation of this "female philosopher." "My father," adds she, "readily consented to accept of Constantia as a pupil, and gave her a general invitation to his table, by which means we were rarely asunder. Whether it was owing to her own desire, or to the envy of those who survived her, I know not, but of her various and beautiful writings I have never seen any published, excepting one poem of hers in the works of Mrs. Barber. Her turn, it is true, was principally to philosophical or religious subjects, which might not be agreeable to the present taste; yet could her heavenly muse descend from its sublime heights to the easy and epistolary style, and suit itself to my then gay disposition."

Mrs. Barber likewise gives her testimony to the merit of Constantia, of whom she declares, "that she was not only happy in a fine imagination, a great memory, an excellent understanding, and an exact judgment, but had all these crowned by virtue and piety. She was too learned to be vain, too wise to be conceited, and too clear-sighted and knowing to be irreligious. Her learning and abilities, which raised her above one sex, left her no cause to envy the other. She delighted in excellence wherever it was to be found, and was ready to give and to receive counsel with equal modesty and pleasure. So little did she value herself upon her uncommon excellences, that she has often recalled to my mind a fine reflection of a French author, 'That great geniuses should be superior to their own abilities.'"

Constantia married a Mr. Grierson,* for whom lord Carteret, then lord-lieutenant of Ireland, obtained a patent, appointing him printer to the king; in which, to distinguish and reward the merit of his wife, her life was inserted. She died at the premature age of twenty-seven, in 1733, honoured and respected as an excellent scholar in Greek and Roman literature; in history, theology, philosophy, and mathematics. In her dedication of the Dublin edition of Tacitus to lord Carteret, and by that of Terence to his son, she gave a proof of her skill in the Latin language.†. She composed several English poems,

* Her maiden name is not mentioned by her biographers.

† She wrote also a Greek epigram.

which are said to have possessed great merit, but on which she set so little value, that, excepting a very few, she neglected to leave copies of them. A complimentary address to Mrs. Barber, written by Constantia, is preserved in the poems of the former. She is also said to have written an abridgment of the history of England. As a daughter, a wife, and a friend, her conduct was amiable and exemplary. She was introduced by Dr. Delany, with her friend Mrs. Pilkington, to the acquaintance of dean Swift, from whom she met a very flattering reception. Towards the latter period of her life her constitution was very infirm.

It is observed by Mrs. Barber, that, with the advantage of health and longer life, there is reason to believe, Mrs. Grierson might have made in the learned world a more distinguished figure than any woman who had preceded her; but this seems to be doubtful. Among those who have in early youth given extraordinary promise of talents, the majority appear to have been cut off by a premature mortality; and of those who have survived, but few have, in any degree, fulfilled the expectation given by the spirit and vigor of their first productions. Whether it is, as certain physiologists suppose, that genius, emphatically so called, or acute mental powers, is connected with a diseased state of the nerves and organs; or that the brain, and fibres connected with its substance, are exhausted and debilitated by premature exertions; is a curious and important question: the solution of which must be left to the future sagacity of the medical philosopher and experimentalist.

Biographium Fœmineum, &c

MADAME DE GUERCHEVILLE.

The beauty and admirable qualities of this lady captivated the affections of Henry IV. of France, who, inspired with respect for her virtues, made her first lady of the bed-chamber to his new queen. 'Had I,' said he, on this occasion, 'known any woman of more honour in France, to her I would have given the preference.' Henry, having one day hunted purposely in the neighbourhood of her château, sent a message to madame de Guercheville, that he would sup and lodge at her house;

to which she replied, that all possible attention should be paid to his accommodation. The king, gratified by an answer so favourable, repaired in the evening to the château, where he found his hostess, elegantly attired, waiting his arrival at the foót of the great staircase, surrounded by her household. Having taken from one of her servants a light, she conducted the king to the best apartment, where she respectfully bowed to him, and retired to give orders, as he supposed, for the entertainment of his retinue. When supper was served up, Henry sent to inquire after the lady. His messenger on returning to him, informed him, that madame de Guercheville had just entered her coach, and quitted the house. On inquiring respecting the motives of this conduct, the following reply was delivered to him as from the lady: 'A king, wherever he is, should always be master. With respect to myself, I also choose to be free.' Henry rose early the ensuing morning, and returned to Paris with mingled feelings of approbation and disappointment.

JACQUETTE GUILLAUME.

JACQUETTE GUILLAUME lived in the seventeenth century, and composed a work entitled "*Les Dames illustres: où, par bonnes et fortes Raisons, il se prouve que le Sexe féminin surpasse en toute Sorte de Genre le Sexe masculin.*" In this performance, published 1665, and dedicated to her royal highness mademoiselle d'Alençon, the writer attempts to prove the superiority of the female over the male sex, through the whole human and animal creation. The book is divided into fourteen chapters; in which, in support of this position, numberless examples are held forth of women illustrious for their talents and virtues, contrasted by recital of the cruelty, treachery, and wickedness of men. Though madame de Guillaume has weakened her cause by taking too wide a circuit, and, in her manner of treating it, discovered more zeal and emulation than sound philosophy, her production is not without merit: the composition is elegant and unaffected: the examples and observations display knowledge and research.

Dictionnaire Historique, &c.—A. Thicknesse's Sketches.

PERNETTE DU GUILLET.

Pernette du Guillet, born at Lyons, a contemporary with Clemence de Bourges, and Louise Labe, was celebrated for her virtues and talents. Mistress of the Spanish and Italian languages, she likewise composed many Latin poems. Several of her productions are dedicated to the Lyonese ladies.

In Pernette du Guillet, it is said, "all that is lovely in woman was united."

A Thicknesse's Sketch of the Lives and Writings of the Ladies of France—Dictionnaire Historique.

JOHANNA MARY BOUVIERS, DE LA MOTHE GUYON.

Madame Guyon, the friend and preceptress of the celebrated Fenelon, archbishop of Cambray, and memorable for her fanaticism and her sufferings in defence of her opinions, was the descendant of a noble family, and born at Montarges, April 13th, 1648. At seven years of age she was sent to the convent of the Ursulines, and placed under the care of a half-sister by blood. The sensibility of her constitution and temper, aided by the impressions received in a monastic life, gave her an early propensity to enthusiasm, and a mystic kind of devotion. The confessor of Henrietta Maria, widow of Charles I. struck by the character and ardour of the young devotee, presented her, when scarcely eight years of age, to the queen; who, but for the resistance of her parents, who chose not that she should leave the convent, would have retained her in her family.

Johanna, as she advanced towards maturity, was desirous of taking the veil, but was over-ruled by her father, who obliged her to give her hand to a country gentleman. At twenty-eight years of age, she was left a widow, with two sons and a daughter, of whom she was appointed sole guardian. The first years of her widowhood she devoted to the regulation of her domestic affairs, the education of her children, and the management of their fortune; in which employments she discovered great activity and capacity. By these

occupations she was not however diverted from conforming to the ceremonials of the catholic church, which she continued to observe with a rigorous austerity.

In the midst of her domestic duties and laudable cares, she was suddenly seized with a spiritual impulse; and, under the delusions of a heated imagination, abandoned the common affairs of life, with the duties and occupations of her sex and station, to deliver herself up to sublime chimeras. Quitting the situation in which, with tranquillity and reputation, she had hitherto resided in the bosom of her family, she repaired to Paris, where she formed an acquaintance with M. d'Aranthon, bishop of Geneva, by whom she was prevailed upon to go into his diocese, in order to perfect an establishment founded by him at Gex, for the reception of newly converted catholics. Having complied with the request of the bishop, she took with her to Gex her daughter, in 1681. The parents of madame de Guyon, some time afterwards, demanded of her a resignation of her office of guardian to her children, together with their fortunes, which amounted to 40,000 livres. She readily complied with this request, and, reserving for her own subsistence only a moderate pension, consigned over to her family the remainder of her property. The community of Gex, observing her liberality, intreated their bishop to propose to madame Guyon, that she should bestow a pension on their house, and thereby constitute herself its superior. Her rejection of this proposition, on a plea of disapprobation of the regulations of the community, gave offence to the sisterhood and their patron, by whom she was desired to quit the house.

Thus circumstanced, she retired to the Ursulines at Thonon, whence she proceeded to Turin, and thence to Grenoble: at length, by the invitation of the bishop, who venerated her piety, she retired to Verceil. After an absence of five years, she returned to Paris, in an ill state of health, in 1686, with a view of procuring medical aid. During her wanderings she had composed two tracts, "*Le Moyen court et très facile de faire Oraison;*" and "*Le Cantique des Cantiques de Solomon interpreté selon le Sens mystique.*" These productions were printed at Lyons, with a license of approbation. Her irreproachable conduct, added to the novelty and attraction of her doctrines, which, with a seductive refinement, recommended prayer,

contemplation, and divine love, as the sum and substance of religion, procured her many converts. The principles of madame Guyon, which savoured of the Platonic philosophy, diffused themselves daily, under the denomination of *Quietism*, through a city characterised by its love of novel speculation. Letters from the provinces in which she had resided, complaining of the spread and fascination of her doctrines, completed, by stimulating the curiosity of the multitude, the popular delusion. The church, alarmed by a heresy, which, striking at the root of ceremonial devotion, seemed to threaten its foundation, prepared to resist the adversary's attack. Father de la Combe, a Barnabite, and confessor to madame Guyon, was the first who suffered persecution. The foundress herself was the next victim. She was confined, by an order from the king, in January 1688, in the convent *des Filles de la Visitation*, where, having been strictly interrogated, she was detained by order of M. Harlai, archbishop of Paris, during eight months. Her deliverance was at length effected through the good offices of madame Miranion, the superior of the convent, who represented her case, and the hardships she had suffered, to madame de Maintenon, who pleaded her cause, with the king, and by whom she was afterwards patronized, and introduced at St. Cyr.*

Soon after her liberation from confinement, madame Guyon was introduced, by the Dutchess of Bethune, to the abbé Fenelon, the celebrated author of "*Telemaque;*" who, captivated by the refinement of her doctrines, became her admirer, disciple, and friend. By the dukes de Chevreuse and Beauvilliers, men of merit and talents, she was also distinguished: while thus powerfully supported, her fame was diffused throughout the kingdom. Ladies of the first rank and distinction abandoned the pleasures of the court, to sit at the feet of this new prophetess; whose precepts were, by the graces of her person, and the insinuation of her manners, rendered peculiarly seductive and alluring.

The cry of heresy was again raised by the church, which,

* A convent erected by madame de Maintenon, for the education of the daughters of the poor nobility.

by its anathemas and alarm, gave importance to the sect which it sought to crush. Madame Guyon, thus critically situated, was persuaded by her friends to submit her cause and her writings to the judgment of the bishop of Meaux; who, after perusing her pamphlets and papers, and holding with the author a conference on their contents, declared his satisfaction; in proof of which he communicated with her in the spirit of christian charity. The fury of the church was however not allayed; and an order was procured for the re-examination of the productions of madame Guyon; who in the mean time retired, at the request of the bishop, to the convent of Meaux. M. Bossuet was at the head of the examination, to whom was joined the bishop of Chalons (afterwards cardinal de Noailles), with M. Transon, superior of the society of St. Sulpice, and lastly, M. Fenelon. At the end of six months, thirty articles were drawn up by the commissioners, to which four were added by M. Fenelon, to prove the harmlessness of *Quietism*, and calm the fears of the church. The whole thirty-four articles were signed by all the examiners, March 10th, 1695. Madame Guyon also, at the instance of the bishop of Meaux, put her signature to the articles: she likewise signed a submission to a censure passed by the bishop, in the preceding April, against her printed tracts; by which she declared, that she had never meant to advance any thing contrary to the catholic, apostolic, and Roman church. To this the bishop subjoined an attestation, dated July 16th, 1695, purporting, that in consequence of these submissions, and the good testimony that had been given of madame Guyon, during a six-months' residence in the convent of St. Mary de Meaux, he was satisfied with her conduct, and had continued her in the participation of the holy sacrament, &c. Thus acquitted, she returned to Paris, in the hope of finding safety and repose.

But the rage of bigotry was not yet exhausted: madame Guyon became involved in the persecutions of the archbishop of Cambray; and, before the expiration of the year, was imprisoned in the castle of Vincennes, whence she was removed to the convent of Thomas à Girard, and afterwards thrown into the Bastile. Here she underwent many rigorous examinations, and continued a captive till the meeting of the general assembly of the clergy of France. In 1700, no evidence appearing against her, she was once more restored to liberty.

This was her last public appearance, after which she visited her children, and settled near them at Blois. The remaining twelve years of her life were passed in obscurity, and in the private indulgence of harmless reveries, to which opposition only had given importance. The walls of her chamber, the tables and furniture, were covered with her numerous verses, which, formed into a collection, were printed after her death, in five volumes, entitled "*Cantiques Spirituels, ou d'Emblemes sur l'Amour divin.*" She also left twenty volumes of the Old and New Testament; with "*Réflexions et Explications concernant la Vie intérieure;*" "*Discours Chretiens,*" in two volumes; letters to several persons, in four volumes; her Life, written by herself, in three volumes; a volume of Visitations, and two volumes of Opuscules. She died June 9th, 1717, having survived the archbishop of Cambray two years and a half.

Bayle's Historical Dictionary—Biographium Fœmineum, &c.

LADY ANNA HALKET.

Anna, daughter of Mr. Robert Murray, a descendant of the family of the earl of Tullibarton, and of Jane Drummond, his wife (who was related to the earl of Perth), was born in London, January 4th, 1622. Her father was chosen by James I. as preceptor to his second son Charles, who, as a recompense for his cares and learning, afterwards made him provost of Eton college. On her mother, who was eminent for her virtues and accomplishments, the office of sub-governess to the duke of Gloucester and the princess Elizabeth, was (during the absence of the countess of Roxburgh with the princess-royal) conferred by the order of the king and queen. After the death of the countess, she succeeded to her post by warrant from the signet. Anna, under the superintendence of her parents, was instructed by the first masters in every branch of education.

Theology and physic appear to have been her favourite pursuits. She became a proficient in the theory of medicine, and a skilful practitioner in surgery. She was consulted for her medical knowledge by the first personages in the kingdom: the reputation of her skill was also diffused over Holland,

whence many persons came for her advice. She was a faithful royalist, and a sufferer in the cause of Charles.

March 2d, 1656, she gave her hand to sir James Halket, a worthy and amiable man, to whom she bore four children, one of which, Robert, her eldest son, only survived. During her first pregnancy she wrote, under the apprehension that she should not survive her delivery, a tract, containing excellent instructions, entitled "The Mother's Will to the Unborn Child."

She was fourteen years a wife, and twenty-eight a widow. She was an acute theologian and a profound student. Her learning, simplicity, unaffected piety, exemplary conduct, and sweetness of manners, conciliated universal respect and esteem. She left twenty-one volumes, principally on religious subjects, some in folio, and others in quarto, printed at Edinburgh in 1701. Also thirty-six stitched books, containing Meditations. She died April 22d, 1699.

The Female Worthies.

HARRIET EUSEBIA HARCOURT.

HARRIET EUSEBIA, daughter of ——— Harcourt, esq., a gentleman possessing a large estate at Richmond, in the north riding of Yorkshire, was born in 1705. She received from her father, with whom she travelled over Europe, a learned education; and at his death inherited his estates. Her figure was graceful, and above the common height, and her face beautiful. She possessed, with uncommon powers of application, a superior capacity, while from the care and tenderness of her father her mind received a high degree of cultivation and polish. Her imagination was lively and fertile, her sentiments elevated, her heart pure, and her temper kind and benevolent. She encouraged industry among her tenants and neighbours; and administered to the necessities of the indigent and the sick. She was skilled in various languages, both ancient and modern, the Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, French, High Dutch, Sclavonian, and Latin, in each of which, it is said, she could converse with facility and correctness.

She remained abroad during nine years with her father,

who died of the plague at Constantinople in 1733. His daughter returned, in the ensuing year, to her country, accompanied by several ladies, with whom she had formed an acquaintance in her travels. From observations on the monastic institutions of foreign countries, which she had been accustomed to visit, a plan of forming an institution upon similar, though improved principles, occurred to her thoughts. This project, on her return to England, she determined to execute.

A beautiful cloister was constructed, according to her directions, on her estate at Richmond; also a delightful summer villa in one of the western isles of Scotland, called the Green Island, which had been the property of her father. In these retreats she alternately resided with an agreeable society of her own sex, among whom were several ladies of distinction and fortune. A system of perfect equality prevailed in the institution, over which each presided in turn: the members were bound by no vows, and at liberty, when weary, to withdraw themselves from the society, upon the forfeiture of the sum of one hundred pounds, paid by each on admittance; a fund dedicated towards the maintenance of the house. A portion of their time was devoted by the society to the exercises of religion, and the remainder occupied by elegant and rational amusements, by attention to the fine arts, the study of science, the belles-lettres, ornamental works, and conversation.

The foundress added to every elegant accomplishment, a peculiar taste for music, drawing, and painting: her untaught sketches with a pencil, at nine years of age, promised a genius for the art, which her father took pains to cultivate: a master of eminence was procured for her; under whose instructions she made a rapid progress: she is said to have infused into her compositions, soul, character, and motion.

She died at her seat at Richmond, December 1st, 1745, in the 39th year of her age. She bequeathed the greater part of her fortune to her institution, on condition that the society should be supported and continued according to its original design, and to the directions which she left in writing.

Biographium Fœmineum—The Female Worthies.

ELIZABETH HARDWICK.

ELIZABETH, daughter of John Hardwick, esq. of Hardwick, in the county of Derby, and of Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Leeke, of Loasland, in the same county, was, by the death of her brother, coheiress with her sister to the fortunes of their father. She was born about the beginning of the 16th century. When scarcely fourteen years of age, she captivated, by her beauty and accomplishments, the affections of Robert Barley, esq. of Barley, in Derbyshire, who, possessing a large estate, settled the whole upon his bride at their marriage. In 1532 she was left, by the death of Mr. Barley, a young and rich widow, without issue; in which state she remained twelve years. At the end of that period she gave her hand to Mr. Cavendish, to whom she bore three sons and three daughters. Becoming a second time a widow, she espoused sir William St. Lowe, captain of the guard to queen Elizabeth; a man of large estate and affluent fortunes, the whole of which he settled upon her, to the exclusion of his brothers, his heirs male, and of his daughters by a former marriage. Of the date of this union, and that of its dissolution by the death of sir William, there is no certain information; but it appears that, in her third widowhood, the charms of this lady were sufficiently powerful to attract the attention, and engage the heart, of George Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, and one of the greatest subjects in the English nation. To this engagement the lady could not be induced to consent, but by conditions very advantageous to her family; the earl agreeing to give his youngest daughter, the lady Grace, to her eldest son, Henry Cavendish esq.; while Mary, her youngest daughter, was to become the wife of Gilbert, the earl's second son, and afterwards heir to his honours and estates. By these connexions the fortunes and estates of the widow, were preserved to her children.

Some little interruption seems to have been given to the conjugal peace of the countess, after her marriage, by Mary Stuart, the unfortunate queen of Scots, of whom the earl of Shrewsbury had the charge during her captivity in England. The countess being interrogated by queen Elizabeth, respecting the welfare of her captive, replied, 'She cannot, madam,

do ill while she is with my husband; and I begin to grow jealous, they are so great together.' Mary, in consequence of calumnies circulated on this occasion, was removed into the custody of sir Amias Paulet, with whom she remained till her execution. The earl of Shrewsbury dying, November 18th, 1590, the countess became a fourth time a widow, in which state she remained till her death.

She is not less celebrated for an uninterrupted series of prosperity, than for the liberality and magnificence of her temper. She erected three elegant seats, Chatsworth, Hardwick, and Oldcotes; all of which were transmitted entire to the first duke of Devonshire. At Hardwick she left the old family mansion standing, in which there was one room of proportions so exact, and with lights so advantageous, that it was taken as a model of a room at Blenheim. Some memorials still remain at Hardwick of the royal prisoner, who resided there fifteen years. The chamber of Mary, rooms of state, her arms, and other ensigns of her dignity, are preserved. Her bed was taken away as plunder during the civil wars. At Chatsworth, the new lodgings, answering to the old, are yet called the queen of Scots' apartments; and an island plat, on the top of a square tower, built in a large pool, is called the queen's garden. Some of her work is preserved among the treasures of the family; an embroidered carpet, and a suit of hangings, in which the virtues are represented in symbolical figures and allusive mottos.

An hospital at Derby was endowed by the countess for the entertainment of twelve poor persons, who receive each ten pounds annually for their subsistence. The countess of Shrewsbury was greatly admired and celebrated in her times; she died February 13th, 1607, and was buried in the south aisle of All-hallows church, in Derby, under a superb monument, erected during her life, on which her statue, lying at full length, is curiously wrought. An inscription was placed on her tomb, many years after, in which she is said to have been, at her death, in her 87th year, but this seems to have been a mistake, as circumstances prove her to have been older.

Her funeral eulogy was spoken by Dr. Toby Matthew, archbishop of York, from Prov. xxxi. 25, to the end of the chapter. The doctor was, on this occasion, lavish in her

praise. Bishop Kennet, in his "Memoirs of the Cavendish Family," thus speaks of this lady, after recapitulating the principal circumstances of her life: "A change of conditions, that perhaps never fell to any one woman; to be four times a happy and creditable wife; to rise by every husband into greater wealth and higher honours; to have an unanimous issue by one husband only; to have all these children live; and all, by her advice, honourably and creditably disposed of during her lifetime; and, after all, to live seventeen years a widow in absolute power and plenty."

Biographia Britannica, &c.

LUCIA HAERIN.

Lucia, the sister and coheir of John, the second lord Harrington, and wife to Edward earl of Bedford, was a woman of uncommon taste and spirit: she was vain, generous, and bountiful to excess. She was the patroness of poets, and men of genius: she distinguished more particularly Donne, Jonson, Drayton, and Daniel, who repeatedly experienced her munificence. Drayton says, "that she rained upon him her sweet showers of gold." He was lavish, in return, of incense and adulation, in poems, dedications, &c. She expended her own, and a great part of her husband's fortune, in these liberalities. Ben Jonson praises this lady in his 76th epigram. He also addresses to her the 84th and 94th. Sir Thomas Roe speaks of her in a letter, as "one skilled in ancient medals." She is celebrated by sir William Temple, for having projected "the most perfect figure of a garden that he ever saw." She died, without issue, May 3, 1627.

Granger's Biographical History of England.

LADY ELIZABETH HASTINGS.

Lady Elizabeth Hastings, daughter of Theophilus earl of Huntingdon, was born April 19, 1682. Her mother was the daughter of sir John Lewis, of Ledstone, in the county of York. The virtues of lady Elizabeth, though exemplary, were silent and unobtrusive. The accession of a

large fortune, after the death of her brother, George earl of Huntingdon, enabled her to afford an illustrious example of active goodness and benevolence. When in her twenty-eighth year, she is thus described, under the name of Aspasia, by sir Richard Steele in the Tatler: "But these ancients would be as much astonished to see in the same age so illustrious a pattern to all who love things praiseworthy as the divine Aspasia. Methinks I now see her walking in her garden like our first parent, with unaffected charms, before beauty had spectators, and bearing celestial, conscious virtue in her aspect. Her countenance is the lively picture of her mind, which is the seat of honour, truth, compassion, knowledge, and innocence:

'There dwells the scorn of vice and pity too.'

"In the midst of the most ample fortune, and veneration of all that behold and know her, without the least affectation, she consults retirement, the contemplation of her own being, and that supreme power which bestowed it. Without the learning of schools, or knowledge of a long course of arguments, she goes on in a steady course of virtue, and adds to the severity of the last age all the freedom and ease of the present. The language and mien of a court she is possessed of in the highest degree; but the simplicity and humble thoughts of a cottage are her more welcome entertainment. Aspasia is a female philosopher, who does not only live up to the resignation of the most retired lives of the ancient sages, but also to the schemes and plans which they thought beautiful, though inimitable. This lady is the most exact economist, without appearing busy; the most strictly virtuous, without tasting the praise of it; and shuns applause with as much industry as others do reproach. This character is so particular, that it will be very easily fixed on her, only, by all that know her, but I dare say she will herself be the last to find it out."*

Lady Elizabeth fixed her principal residence at Ledstone-house, where she became the patroness of merit, the benefactress of the indigent, and the intelligent friend and counsellor of the surrounding neighbourhood. Temperate, chaste, and simple, in her habits, she devoted her time, her fortune, and

* Tatler No. 42, July 16, 1709.

the powers of her understanding, which was of a high order, to the benefit and happiness of all around her. "Her cares," says her biographer, "extended even to the animal creation; while over her domestics she presided with the disposition of a parent, providing for the improvement of their minds, the decency of their behaviour, and the propriety of their manners. She would have the skill and contrivance of every artificer used in her house, employed for the ease of her servants, and that they might suffer no inconvenience or hardship. Besides providing for the order, harmony, and peace of her family, she kept great elegance in and about her house, that her poor neighbours might not fall into idleness and poverty for want of employment; and while she thus tenderly regarded the poor, she would visit those in the higher ranks, lest they should accuse her of pride or superciliousness." At her table her countenance was open and serene; her voice soft and melodious; her language polite and animated. It might truly be said of this lady, that "her mind was virtue, by the graces drest." The sympathy, tenderness, and delicacy, which accompanied her liberalities doubled their value: she was the friend and patroness, through life, of Mrs. Mary Astell; to whom, her circumstances being narrow, she frequently presented considerable sums. Her benefactions were not confined to the neighbourhood in which she lived; to many families, in various parts of the kingdom, she gave large annual allowances. She also maintained a charity-school, gave exhibitions to scholars in the universities, and contributed to the support of several seminaries of education. To this may be added her munificence to her relations and friends, her remission of sums due to her, in cases of distress or straitened circumstances, and the noble hospitality of her establishment. To one relation she allowed five hundred pounds annually, to another she presented a gift of three thousand pounds, and to a third three hundred guineas. She acted also with great liberality towards a young lady, whose fortune had been injured in the South-sea scheme: yet the whole of her estates fell short of three thousand pounds a-year. It was by economy and strict self-denial that she was enabled thus to extend her bounties. Her favourite maxim was, first to attend to justice; secondly, to charity; and thirdly, to generosity. She courted no popularity, and unaffectedly avoided the

acknowledgments of those whom she had benefited or obliged. She possessed an acute and penetrating mind, with a lively imagination, which she studiously restrained, lest, in indulging the sprightliness or humour of the moment, she should unwillingly offend or give pain to those around her: gentleness and courtesy governed all her actions.

The closing scenes of her life exhibited a pattern of patience and fortitude, amidst severe physical sufferings. She had, early in life, accidentally received a contusion on her breast, which had left a small inward tumor, which she had for many years disregarded: about a year and a half previous to her death the tumor became painful, and appeared to increase. The rev. Dr. Johnson, a gentleman eminent for his surgical skill, was applied to on the occasion, who declared there was a necessity for amputating the part affected. Lady Elizabeth, on this information, resigned herself with meekness and cheerfulness to the event; while she passed the interval with the most perfect tranquillity, and submitted to the operation without a struggle or a groan. Her recovery was more rapid than could have been expected, but the malady, though alleviated, was not eradicated.

During the interval which preceded her death, she resumed her occupations and benevolent plans with increased application and ardor. Her respect for literature, particularly as connected with religion, induced her to enlarge her donations to colleges and seminaries of learning. In a codicil annexed to her will, she demised her manor of Wheldale to the provost and scholars of Queen's college, Oxford, for the education of students for the church. Her health daily declining, she employed herself in guarding legally from depredation, or misapplication, the various establishments and benevolent purposes to which she had dedicated the greater part of her fortune, neglecting no measures which could be taken for their appropriation and security. In the midst of these laudable cares, the disease, which the operation had for a time suppressed, returned with increased malignity: she endured for many months the severest sufferings, which she bore with her accustomed fortitude and patience. An ardent benevolence continued to be her characteristic till her last moments. A short time before her death, she sent forty guineas for the enlargement of a gen-

tleman, totally unknown to her, imprisoned at Rothwell for deb.

When on her death-bed, she convened her household and friends, whom she comforted and exhorted in a high strain of fervent and enthusiastic piety. She lived beloved and respected, and died regretted and deplored. At the time of her death, 1739, she was between fifty and sixty years of age. The following account of her appeared in the Gentleman's Magazine, in the list of deaths for the year 1740: "Dec. 22, 1739. The honourable lady Elizabeth Hastings, at her seat at Ledstone, Yorkshire, half sister to Theophilus, the present earl. Though the splendor of her birth was truly great, it seemed, as it were, eclipsed by her shining qualities. She was amiable in her person, genteel in her mien, polite in her manners, and agreeable in her conversation; her judgment was solid, her regard to friendship sacred, and her sense of honour strict to the last degree; and she was of so rare modesty and humility, that a more disagreeable thing could not be done than publishing her good deeds, and rendering her due praise. She was, above all, a sincere christian. Her piety towards God was ardent and unaffected, and her benevolence towards mankind was such as the good angels are blessed with. Thousands had she comforted and relieved, many enriched and advanced. Her patience and resignation, under a long and tedious sickness, her mourning for the sins of men, her unwearied endeavours for their eternal welfare, her generous and charitable appointments, her tender expressions to her relations, friends, and servants, and her grateful acknowledgments to her physicians, require whole pages to set them in a proper light. In short, scarce any age has afforded a greater blessing to many, and brighter example to all. Her corpse was interred with great funeral solemnity in the family vault at Ledstone, near her grandfather, sir John Lewis, baronet. The following inscription being put upon her leaden coffin, &c.

"The Right Hon. the Lady Elizabeth Hastings,
Daughter of Theophilus Earl of Huntingdon,
By Elizabeth his first wife,
Daughter and Coheir of sir John Lewis, Knight
and Baronet,
From whom descended to her the manors of

Ledstone, Ledsham, Thorparch, Collingham, Wheldale, Wyke, and Shadwell.
In the four first she created charity schools,
And, for the support of them and other charities,
She gave in her life-time Collingham, Shadwell,
And her estate in Burton-Salmon.
She was born the 19th of April, 1682.
Died the 22d December, 1739.
A pattern to succeeding ages
Of all that 's good and all that 's great."

She was fond of her pen, and frequently employed herself in writing; but, previous to her death, destroyed the greater part of her papers. Her fortune, beauty, and amiable qualities, procured her many solicitations to change her state, but she preferred, in a single and independent life, to be mistress of her actions, and the disposition of her income.

Gibbon's Memoirs of Pious Women—Biographium Fœmineum.

ELIZABETH HAYWOOD.

This lady, born in London, 1693, who possessed, with a knowledge of the human heart, considerable powers of imagination, was the author of several ingenious and popular productions: she published "The Female Spectator," in 4 vols.; "Epistles for the Ladies," in 2 vols.; "Fortunate Foundling," 1 vol.; "Adventures of Nature," 1 vol.; "Jemmy and Jenny Jessamy," 3 vols.; "Invisible Spy," 2 vols.; "Husband and Wife," 2 vols.; "A Present for a Servant Maid," and "Betsy Thoughtless," an excellent novel, abounding in nature and good sense. She also wrote some dramatic pieces, but of inferior merit. She died in 1756.

HELENA FLAVIA,

The daughter of Coil king of Britain, and the mother of Constantine the Great. The works of this princess, among which is a book of Greek verses, are enumerated by Baleus. Helena is famed for her visits to the sacred spots in and about Jerusalem, and for having, as it is recorded, discovered the real wood of the cross upon which Christ was crucified.

HELOISE.

FEW characters have excited a more extensive and permanent interest, than that of the subject of the present narrative. The exquisite novel of Rousseau, to which the character and misfortunes of Heloise afforded a foundation, with all the magic of genius, and the charm of language, compared with this simple recital of facts, but feebly affects the heart.

In the twelfth century, in the reign of Lewis the Gross, in the village of Palais, in Brittany, lived Beranger, a gentleman of fortune, and the father of a family, in the education of which he spared neither pains nor expense. Peter Abelard, the elder son of M. Beranger, gave early promise of extraordinary acuteness and powers of mind: devoted to the acquisition of learning and the study of philosophy, for the purpose of applying himself with less interruption to these favourite pursuits, he yielded to his brothers the advantages of his birth-right. Among the various branches of science to which he in turn attended, he discovered a decided preference for logic and theology; in which he delighted to exhibit his subtlety and to display his skill. To detect error and expose inconsistency, to perplex, entangle, and defeat, affords an exercise not less alluring than flattering: our youthful sophist wielded his polemic weapons with equal prowess and effect, while his fame as a disputant spread through the country. To him every antagonist yielded the palm; his combats were a series of triumphs; till, ambitious of seeking adversaries more redoubted, and of extending the sphere of his victories, he determined to resort to the capital, where his powers might receive improvement, and the circle of his admirers be enlarged.

In Paris he enlisted himself for the completion of his studies, under William des Champeaux, whose favourite disciple he soon became: puzzled, at length, by the subtle objections of the scholar, the patience of the master became exhausted, his self-complacency humbled, and his jealousy provoked. This struggle between authority and rising genius terminated in the division of the school: Abelard, believing himself wiser than his teacher, founded an academy, ten leagues from Paris, in the town of Melun. Champeaux, with the littleness of

bounded talents and conscious weakness, endeavoured in vain to obstruct the progress of a mind he had himself assisted to advance. His jealousy received daily aggravation in the brilliancy and increasing extent of the fame of its object, who was soon considered as the first philosophical genius of the age. Flushed with success, and giddy with vanity, the young professor observed in his triumph no moderation; while, with a spirit of rivalry, unworthy his talents, he removed his school to Corbeil, for the poor gratification of opposing nearer the pretensions of his antagonist, whom he assailed with syllogisms and perpetual dispute. From the intense application which the stimulus of emulation and the rage of conquest had excited, the health of Abelard became impaired: a dangerous malady attacked him; for the cure of which, rest and relaxation were advised. In compliance with this prescription, he determined on returning to his native air, and indulging in the society of his family, with whom he remained near two years.

At the expiration of this period, he revisited Paris, where he learned that Champeaux, having resigned his station, had retired to the convent of regular canons, in which he continued to deliver his lectures. In this retreat the professor found no shelter from the zeal and activity of his old opponent, who, recommencing the attack, drove him from his entrenchments, and compelled him to renounce, as untenable, his former opinions. The vanquished and mortified Champeaux, abandoned by his disciples, rapidly sunk into neglect and contempt: even his successor in the chair of the professorship, enlisted under the banner of the enemy. The talents and success of Abelard provoking new enemies, he was, in his turn, compelled to retreat: quitting Paris, he took refuge at Melun, where he revived his lectures on logic and rhetoric.

Our young professor continued, with various success, his scholastic warfare, while Champeaux, deserted and alone, affected to keep the field; but while his defence grew hourly more feeble, the final blow was protracted by the abrupt departure of Abelard, who received from his parents (determined, in the spirit of the times, to abjure the world, and pass in a monastery the remainder of their lives) a summons to repair to

Brittany, and assist at the ceremonials observed on these occasions.

This filial duty performed, he returned to Paris. During his absence, Champeaux had been promoted to the bishopric of Chalons. Abelard now resigned his school, for the purpose of devoting his time and talents to theological studies. With this view he removed to Laon, where Anselm delivered lectures in divinity with reputation and success. The scene of his early contentions became here renewed; the disciple, disgusted with the incapacity, concealed under a pomp of words, which he discovered in the lecturer, determined for ever to abjure commentators and teachers, and to apply himself diligently to the study of the scriptures; to which he added the perusal of the writings of the fathers of the church. After devoting his days and nights to his new occupation, his ambition and self-complacency reviving, he prepared to assume the lecturer's office. Having commenced his labours by explaining to his fellow-students the prophecy of Ezekiel, his auditors, charmed with his ingenuity and eloquence, became daily more numerous and attentive. Anselm, jealous of the rising popularity of the orator, found means to have him silenced by authority; in consequence of which he once more returned to Paris. In the capital he publicly resumed his lectures, and by his talents and learning acquired, with a crowd of disciples, considerable lucrative advantage.

To the attainments of a scholar, brilliant talents, a commanding eloquence, and seducing manners, Abelard added personal graces, and the accomplishments of a gentleman: his passions were ardent, his heart susceptible, and his temper aspiring. Thus qualified, he could not fail of being acceptable among the ladies, and of gaining female favour and patronage. Wearied with theological wrangling, he relaxed in the society of the gay and the fair, sighed for the endearments of domestic tenderness, and sought solace in the softness of female friendship and confidence. Personal beauty was insufficient in itself to fix the wandering affections of the young theologian; his heart panted to be understood; he wished to find in a mistress a friend and companion; and sought among the women, by whom he had been distinguished, a mind and character

congenial to his own. Possessing a taste for the arts, and a turn for poetical composition, he relaxed from his graver studies in verses and songs, full of tenderness and vivacity, which he was accustomed to sing with an agreeable voice. Fulbert, a canon of the church of Notre-Dame, who resided near the place where Abelard delivered his lectures, educated in his house, with care and tenderness, a niece, amiable in her person, captivating in her manners, and possessing superior mental endowments. The young Heloise, by her talents, her learning, and her sensibility, had attracted the attention of the lecturer: this predilection, increased by every interview, gradually grew into a fervent and exclusive attachment. Fulbert, vain of the talents of his niece, and solicitous to afford to her mind every improvement, favoured an intercourse so dangerous and so full of charms, without adverting to its probable consequences. With his anxiety for the cultivation of so promising a genius, the parsimony of the canon had hitherto struggled: desirous of procuring for Heloise masters in the sciences, he yet felt reluctant to expend the sums necessary for the purpose. Abelard availed himself of this foible, which he was not slow to observe. Having, by his respectful attentions, gained the friendship of the canon, with whom he officiated in the same church, he took an opportunity, after complaining of his unsettled life, to propose himself as a boarder in the house of Fulbert, whose acquiescence he tempted by the offer of advantageous terms. The canon, falling into the snare spread for him, eagerly accorded with the proposition of Abelard, with a secret view to the benefit of his niece; for whose instruction he might thus be enabled to provide, without trouble or expense to himself, a preceptor of distinguished learning and fame.

The preliminary arrangements having been made, Abelard, with secret joy and exultation, took possession of an apartment under the same roof with his mistress. After some days had elapsed, he affected, with apparent carelessness, to observe the genius and capacity of Heloise; artfully leading the canon, in the simplicity of his heart, to solicit as a favour, that assistance in the prosecution of her studies, which he longed to offer to his fair and youthful hostess. To this request our young philosopher pretended to demur, opposing, for the purpose

of having them obviated, and of increasing the eagerness of the solicitor, some frivolous objections which respected the sex of the pupil proposed to him, female indisposition for application and perseverance, and his own numerous avocations. Fulbert undertook with zeal, and not without liberality, the defence of the sex, particularly enlarging on the docility and capacity of his niece. The pretended scruples of the philosopher being vanquished, he was at length induced to promise his aid, provided that the young lady should discover any predilection for the severer studies. The canon, with lavish acknowledgments, praised the condescension of his guest, to whose charge the amiable and unreluctant Heloise was committed. Her enamoured preceptor was urged to usurp over his pupil the authority of a master, and entreated to devote to her those hours which were unoccupied by his public employments.

The purposes of Abelard were thus advanced by the simple confidence and venal ambition of his host. Heloise listened to her preceptor, "while truths divine came mended from his tongue," as to a being of a higher order: respect, deference, admiration, gratitude, and a combination of flattering and exquisite sentiments, gradually prepared the way for softer and more interesting emotions. The power of a master, and the indulgence of a friend, alternately subdued her mind, and soothed her heart: every hour as it passed added to the ascendency of the professor, and to the subjection of the disciple: emulation, stimulated by love, conquered every difficulty: her improvements were rapid and brilliant. Absorbed in a delicious intoxication, her imagination possessed by one image, her heart absorbed in one sentiment, she surrendered herself up without reserve to an enchantment, that, under an imposing form, had, through her understanding, fascinated her senses, and subjugated her affections.

At Corbeil the canon possessed a villa: thither the lovers, under pretence of pursuing with less interruption their studies, frequently repaired: like the first pair in Eden, they saw in the universe only each other, and abandoned themselves to their mutual tenderness. Months passed away unmarked; the philosopher forgot his lectures and his scholars; nature had as-

sumed its rights; the professor was sunk in the lover; his public duties were neglected or performed with an inattention that roused the suspicions and the raillery of the auditors. The cause of this abstraction being sought for, was discovered with little difficulty.

In the intoxication of their happiness, and the security of possession, the lovers lost sight of discretion: their intercourse grew less guarded; rumour betrayed the tale; and the frailty of the sage, and the sensibility of the disciple, became a subject of public animadversion. Fulbert only remained ignorant of the effect of his prudent scheme: confiding in the innocence of his niece, and the gravity and wisdom of her preceptor, he for a long time turned an incredulous ear to the idle gossips by which he was surrounded. At length, by officious counsellors, he was persuaded to seek an evidence too glaring for distrust: when the seeming moderation with which he appeared to acquire this conviction, a temperance so contrary to his habitual humour, gave an alarm to the lovers, but too well founded, and determined them on a temporary separation.

Absence and opposition produced on a strong passion its usual effects; the affection of the enamoured pair became more fervent and tender; an epistolary correspondence was adopted to soften the pain of absence; till, betrayed by a servant whose aid they had sought to secure, their situation became daily more hazardous and insupportable. At this period Abelard contrived, by means of her singing master, to obtain an interview with his mistress. Their first transports having in some degree subsided, Heloise disclosed to her lover a circumstance which rendered her longer abode in the house of her uncle equally dangerous and improper. After debating on the measures it would be necessary to pursue, it was at length determined that she should seek an asylum in Brittany, in the house of a sister of Abelard, where she might receive those attentions, and accommodations, which her situation would shortly render indispensable. To soften the anguish of her mind in circumstances so delicate and affecting, she received assurances from her lover, that he would give to the mother of his child a legal claim to his protection and tenderness. In the precarious situation of Heloise no time was to be lost; another opportunity for escape might

not occur: her immediate departure from the residence of her uncle was resolved upon; and, disguised in the habit of a man, the fugitive departed the same night for Brittany.

Thus separated from his mistress, Abelard reflected seriously on his past conduct; on the injury which the canon would conceive he had done to him, in robbing him of his niece, whom he tenderly loved; and on the confidence and rights of hospitality which he had thus vilely betrayed and abused. These salutary reflections ended in a laudable determination, since the past could not be recalled, of making all the reparation which yet remained in his power. With this view he resolved to make a visit to Fulbert, and to endeavour to appease his indignation. The canon received him in a transport of rage: incapable of moderation, or of attending to reason, he overwhelmed with reproaches and invectives, the man whom he considered as having dishonoured his house, as the betrayer of his confidence, and the seducer of his niece. In this moment of passion he forgot, or drove from his recollection, the imprudence and sordid weakness in which had originated the calamity he so vehemently deplored. Abelard, self-condemned, generously forbore to remind him of a circumstance which extenuated in some degree his own misconduct. Meekly yielding to the storm, till the fury of his opponent had exhausted itself by its violence, he seized an interval of fatigue, ingenuously to confess the fault of which he had been guilty; and, by expostulation, entreaty, and promises, to calm the wrath of the canon, and dispose his acceptance of the proffered amends. He exhorted him to consider the nature of his offence, the charms, the attractions, and amiable qualities of his niece, the youth of the offender, the sincerity of his admiration, and the fervour of his passion; which, still unabated, disposed him not merely to offer all the atonement now in his power, but to solicit with zeal and ardour the alliance of his offended friend, with the sanction of the church, whose decrees he had violated. 'Are you willing,' interrupted the canon, with impatient sternness; 'to marry my niece?' 'Most gladly,' replied Abelard, 'if such is your wish, and if the consent of Heloise can be obtained.' 'Is it possible,' retorted Fulbert, 'that you can doubt of either?' The lover now conditioned, that for the present the nuptials should be kept a

secret. 'No,' replied his adversary, indignantly, 'the reparation shall be no less public than the disgrace.' Abelard represented forcibly his situation in the church, and the motives of mutual interest which his request involved. Fulbert gradually becoming more temperate, suffered his compliance to be at length extorted, upon condition that Heloise should, immediately after her recovery from the consequences of her present situation, become the wife of Abelard.

The rage of the canon thus allayed, the lover gave to his scholars a vacation, for the purpose of repairing to Brittany, to visit and comfort his beloved Heloise. It is unnecessary to paint the pleasure of this meeting, after a separation in circumstances so perilous and affecting. Abelard repeated to his mistress the particulars of his interview with her uncle, and his own engagements, in which he affectionately besought her acquiescence. Heloise appeared, comparatively, to be but little moved by the displeasure of the canon, while she earnestly expressed her disapprobation of the concessions and promises made by her lover. She represented to him his situation in the church, his prospects of future preferment, to which his marriage could not fail of proving detrimental. She assured him, tenderly, that it was for *himself* she loved him; that his interest, his glory, his fame, were infinitely dearer, and more important to her peace, than her own security and reputation. That a ceremony could not render her affection more chaste and exclusive, nor increase her confidence in the honour and tenderness of her lover. Her uncle, she told him, whose temper was implacable, was already offended past forgiveness; no measures that could now be adopted would, she was convinced, appease him; her own reputation also was indelibly stained; nor could the imperfect reparation proposed, console her for blasting the prospects of him she loved. Was it for *her*, who gloried in the virtues and the talents of the man to whom she had freely resigned herself, to rob the church of a member whose eminence and ability rendered him its principal ornament; or the world of a genius on which it had just and extensive claims! In confining to domestic cares a man formed for the public welfare, the advancement of science would be impeded, and the cause of learning suffer. What an abrupt and humiliating period would be put to a career, com-

menced, with so much splendor and success. How would the study of philosophy and divinity accord with the cries of children, the songs of nurses, the interruption of domestic concerns, or the toil of providing for a family? What a confused mixture would be desks and cradles, books and distaffs, pens and spindles! The rich might be exempt from these disturbances, but poverty and learning were but ill assorted. He that would provide for his household, must attend to worldly affairs; what time could he find to devote to study and the muses? The apostle Paul, the fathers of the church, with sages and orators, had joined to commend the freedom and leisure of a single life. 'Be,' continued she, 'more solicitous to preserve the dignity of your profession, nor entail upon yourself difficulties and certain repentance. Do you picture to yourself happiness in uniting your fate to mine, in bonds which death only can dissever, you deceive yourself; bondage is never sweet; even fetters of gold will gall. In an union which love has established, and which merit and confidence preserve, glory, honour, pleasure, are only to be found. Such an union owes to its freedom its existence. Do human laws, do the customs of the world, form bonds more strong than affection, in which souls intermingle? If you see me daily, you will see me too often; favours which cost you no care, and which you consider as your due, will insensibly lose their value. You perceive not this at present, but I shall feel it when too late. After what I have urged, I disdain to dwell on the ridicule of the world, who will, with contempt, observe you barter for a wife, utility and fame, fortune and quiet. For myself, the title of mistress is a thousand times more endearing than that of wife; a name which imposes on us, and which owes but to custom its dignity. To be the mistress of the man I love, I would contemn the throne of the Cæsars. All the honour, the respect, the wealth, the enjoyment, which a splendid alliance could offer, would fail in tempting me to sacrifice your advantage and glory.'

To these arguments of Heloise, not less dangerous than specious, the sister of Abelard added her representations, endeavouring to dissuade her brother from yielding his interest to love. But the persuasions of a sister, and the affectionate eloquence of a beloved mistress, who, in the enthusiasm of her

tenderness, lost sight of her own security, failed alike in shaking the [redacted]lution of the lover and the man. The generosity of Heloise affected and melted his heart: the noble and tender motives of her conduct were but too apparent: he felt his affection and his honour engaged to reject the sacrifice of love, and to fulfil his promise made to the canon. Under the impression of these sentiments, he represented to Heloise the hazards they should incur by a farther provocation of her uncle; with the propriety and necessity of the measure he had proposed. Overcome at length by his solicitation, she yielded to the importunity of her lover, rather than to the conviction of her heart.

Abelard remained in Brittany till after the period which made him a father. Heloise, having given birth to a son, returned with her lover to Paris; where, in the presence of Fulbert, and two or three of his friends, the sanction of the church was given to their union. The secret was not long preserved: to remove the stain from his family the canon circulated the news with industry. Heloise, provoked at her uncle's breach of promise, and apprehensive of the consequences to her beloved husband, eagerly contradicted the tale: her own doubtful situation affecting her less than her fears for the reputation and advantage of the man she loved. She affirmed, that the story of their marriage was unfounded in truth, that a measure so detrimental to his advancement had never been proposed by Abelard, nor would have been acceded to by herself. She persisted with so much earnestness and constancy in these assertions, and in what was conceived to be her own dishonour, that she obtained at length general credit. This report of her uncle sunk into contempt, as fabricated for obvious purposes, and spread by those who wished to impede the fortunes of the young professor. Fulbert, enraged at the temerity of his neice, loaded her with reproach and invective, and abstained not from barbarous and unmanly outrage.

Abelard, to free from the persecutions of her uncle the wife he adored, determined to remove her from his power: with this view he placed her in a convent, where, excepting the veil, she assumed for a time the habit of a nun. In this retreat she resolved to remain, till an opportunity should occur for the more unrestrained enjoyment of their mutual affection.

This measure effectually silenced the report of their marriage, while it increased the rage and mortification of the canon, who brooded in silence over plans of vengeance. Abelard, unconscious of the storm gathering over his head, made frequent visits to the asylum of Heloise. The convent of Argenteuil, in which she had taken refuge, was not of a severe order: the amiable manners of Heloise conciliated the affections of the sisterhood, who, affected by her misfortunes, facilitated the interviews of the lovers. The difficulties, obstacles, and mystery, in which the intercourse of the enamoured pair was involved, gave a zest to their passion, and added force and elevation to the sentiment by which they were united.

It was at this crisis that the canon found means of effecting the revenge he had meditated, by corrupting a domestic belonging to Abelard, into whose chamber ruffians were introduced during the silence and darkness of the night. The consequences of this treachery are too well known to require a repetition.

The conduct of Fulbert excited universal indignation; it was with difficulty he saved himself from the popular fury, by base prevarication and falsehood: he was nevertheless deprived of his benefice; while the agents of his cowardly malignity, with the treacherous domestic of Abelard, suffered condign punishment. The unhappy sufferer in vain remonstrated and complained; the bishops and canons turned a deaf ear to his petitions. Destitute of pecuniary means to carry his cause to Rome, he was at length compelled to leave his enemy to the punishment of his own reflections and the public hatred, and to submit sullenly to his destiny. His friends, by their sympathy, and by every argument which wit and ingenuity could invent, tried to reconcile him to his fate, and to console him for the injuries he had sustained: but the effort to silence feeling by reason, though in the pride of philosophy frequently attempted, experience may teach every individual has seldom been found efficacious.

Abelard, filled with grief and shame, determined, in his despair, to quit the scene of his misfortunes, and of the triumph of his enemies, and bury himself in the seclusion of a monastic life. In vain his Heloise opposed this resolution, and deprecated the idea of their separation; her tears, her intreaties, her remonstrances, failed to move the stubborn purpose of her

husband. Having exhausted to no purpose every argument which eloquent affection could devise, compelled to endure a separation from the object of her affections, she resolved to follow his example, and withdraw for ever from a world, in which she no longer felt any pleasure or interest.

In the twenty-second year of her age, in the bloom of youth, and the spring of life, she abjured the world, its allurements, and pleasures; and in the convent of Argenteuil, at the foot of the altar, with unshaken firmness and heroic constancy, bound herself by irrevocable vows, and completed the sacrifice of *love*. On this affecting and solemn occasion, the victim of superstition and cruelty betrayed no symptom of reluctance: every passion, every sorrow, every regret, were absorbed in the anguish of a compulsory separation from the friend and husband of her choice, who, unmoved by the purity and fidelity of her affection, had persisted obstinately in his stern determination.

Abelard, having witnessed the profession of Heloise, retired into the monastery of St. Denis, where, after a time, he resumed those studies and pursuits, which had conferred on him the reputation of the most learned man of the age, and the founder of the scholastic philosophy. The disorders of the retreat which he had chosen provoked from him a severity of censure, that rendered his farther abode at St. Denis dangerous, if not impracticable. Having obtained leave of the abbot, he quitted his licentious companions, and took refuge at Thinbaud in Champagne; where he opened a school, to which pupils resorted in crowds from all parts of Europe.

The fame and success of Abelard provoked new enemies, who sought, with insidious malice, to blast his reputation. Alberic of Rheims, and Lotulf of Lombardy, perceiving in his popularity the ruin of their schools, accused him of heresy, of which a work composed by Abelard on the mystery of the Trinity afforded them a pretence. The condemnation of the book by the council of Soissons, 1121, and the imprisonment of its author in the convent of Medard, were procured by the machinations of his rivals. Forbidden to defend himself, Abelard nearly sunk under this injustice; which, he frequently declared, of all the afflictive incidents of his life, affected him the most.

A short time after he was remanded to St. Denis, whose monks he had, by his censures on their dissolute conduct, offended. Here a new accusation was preferred against him, respecting a doubt which he had casually let fall, whether St. Denis, the patron saint of the institution, was indeed the Areopagite mentioned in scripture: to this he added an observation on the improbability of the saint having been ever in France. This harmless scepticism was construed into a heresy both spiritual and political. The genius and acuteness of Abelard were crimes against ecclesiastical domination which his ruin only could expiate.* The unfortunate innovator was, by the decision of the abbot and assembled monks, to be delivered up to the secular power, to suffer the punishment of his presumptuous reason. To avoid the tempest burstin gon his devoted head, Abelard escaped from the convent by night, and sought, at Champagne, an asylum among the monks of Troies.

On the death of the abbot of St. Denis, our persecuted professor obtained, by some manœuvres and representations at court, the freedom of choosing his residence. The first idea which occurred to him in this interval from vexation, was to publish a manifesto of his misfortunes, and the injuries he had suffered, with a refutation of the calumnies of his enemies: but, on maturer reflection, he considered silence and neglect to be a better proof of the just contempt in which he held their malice, and wisely relinquished his purpose. With the view of forming a new society, he made choice of a solitude in the diocese of Troies; and, on a piece of ground allotted to him by the bishop, constructed a small house and chapel, which he dedicated to the Holy Trinity. There being at this period but few men of real learning and science, disciples crowded around the illustrious exile, and liberally rewarded his labours. His scholars, with a laudable enthusiasm, for the advantage of attending a master, the fame of whose endowments daily spread, content to subsist on water and roots, surrounded his house with huts; while, in their zeal, they enlarged with wood and stone the chapel and house which the professor had erected. Abelard, as a memorial of the consolation which he experienced in the desert, dedicated his chapel, in its im-

* No unconmmon case.

proved state, under the name of the Paraclete (or Comforter), to the Holy Ghost.

With his increasing reputation, the jealousy of his adversaries reviving, they exhausted their invention in discovering new methods of persecution. The title of the Paraclete suggesting a pretence, the orthodoxy of the founder was again called into question: the dedication of a chapel to one person in the Godhead was wrested into a denial of the mysterious triad, and a proof of the heresy lurking in the heart of the accused. The zealots of the chuch, taking up the cause, thundered against the philosopher their anathemas: malice and fear combined to alienate from him his disciples, and to drive his friends from the contagion of his misfortunes. Harassed and embittered by these unmerited vexations, Abelard now determined to abandon Christendom; when the duke of Brittany, moved by his sufferings, of which he had been informed, appointed him to the abbey of St. Gildas, in the diocese of Vannes, where he was by the monks elected their superior.

Even here his adverse destiny continued to pursue him: the profligacy of the monks, and the extortion of their lord, who withheld from them the greater part of their revenues, involved him in difficulty and distress. The monks, incensed by his disapprobation of their conduct, conceived against him a mortal enmity: they attempted to rid themselves of a rigid censor, by poison, which they even mixed with the sacramental bread. In vain they were menaced by their superior with excommunication; their disorders, instead of diminishing, seemed daily to increase. It was here that Abelard compared himself to the tyrant of Syracuse, over whose head a sword hung suspended by a single thread.

While her husband thus groaned under ecclesiastical wickedness, Heloise suffered her share of distress: the nuns of Argenteuil, of which she had been chosen prioress, becoming disorderly, the abbot of St. Denis availed himself of their misconduct to obtain a decree from Rome, by which, having expelled them from their convent, he established at Argenteuil the monks of his own order. As no censure had been thrown upon Heloise for the irregularities of her nuns, and as it does not appear that her name was included in the general scandal of the society, candor must oblige us to conclude, that her ef-

forts, like those of her lover, had proved ineffectual to restrain a license in which she took no part.

Driven from her asylum, Heloise, in her distress, had recourse to Abelard for assistance and counsel, and obtained from him, with permission of the bishop of Troies, an assignment of the Paraclete, where she founded a nunnery. The gift was, in the year 1131, confirmed by pope Innocent II. In this retreat, by her discipline and exemplary conduct, she excited general admiration and respect. Donations were showered upon the house: in one year, it is said by Abelard, the abbess received more gifts than, had he remained there, he should have expected during the whole of his life. Heloise was treated by the bishop with parental kindness; the nuns loved her as a sister; while by the laity she was reverenced as a mother. The abbesses who succeeded to her were of the first families in France: in the notes by Andrew du Chene to the works of Abelard, is a list of their names, from the foundation in 1130 to 1615.

Abelard, after the establishment of Heloise at the Paraclete, made frequent journeys from Brittany to Champagne, to sooth his sorrows in her beloved society, and assist in the settlement of her house. Calumny did not suffer this unfortunate pair to enjoy unembittered the sad consolation of mingling their tears; they were reproached with their former passion; no sufferings could disarm the fury of superstition, while odious imputations were thrown on their present intercourse. Whether in these meetings, so dear and affecting, the wounds of their hearts, yet scarcely closed, opened afresh, or whether they judged it proper to sacrifice to the world, and to the sanctity of their engagements, it is certain that, doing violence to their feelings, they at length resolved on a final separation. Abelard, having given to his wife spiritual directions for her conduct, and the regulation of her house, returned to Brittany, where he resigned himself to the duties of his profession.

A long period now elapsed, when a letter addressed by Abelard to a friend, containing anarrative of the misfortunes of his life, fell accidentally into the hands of Heloise: the well-remembered characters excited her curiosity, and revived her tenderness. Unable to resist her desire of knowing the contents of this paper, she experienced in the perusal, that a passion, forcibly suppressed, bursts forth on the slightest relaxation;

while the stern dictates of superstition were overpowered in the louder and more affecting voice of nature. Unable to sustain the burthen of uncommunicated thought, she determined once more to pour out her soul into the bosom of the man, whose fatal attachment had blasted the prospects of her youth, and consigned her maturer years to a living death. The genuine letters of this unhappy pair, originally written in Latin, were printed at Paris, in a collection of the works of Abelard, 1616. In 1693 they were translated into French, and published at the Hague. The letters of Heloise, still more touching and passionate than those of her lover, abound in strokes of nature and pathos that appeal irresistibly to the heart. "The wounds of my heart," says she, "which time ought to have closed, bleed afresh on beholding the story of our sufferings traced by your hand." "I have blotted the narrative with my tears, which would not be restrained. Would to God the whole had been effaced, ere it had been exacted from me!" "Why did I hide from you the secret of my calling? Neither piety nor zeal led me to the altar: cruel vengeance and unhappy love have placed me here. Your affection, your approbation, was the recompense to which I looked. Among those devoted to God, I worship only you. Amidst the heroic victims of the cross, I am the slave of passion. The head of a religious community, my soul is devoted only to Abelard. In the temple of chastity I am covered with the ashes of the fire which consumes me. The obligation to which my vocation calls me, is combated incessantly by the stronger and more habitual feelings of my heart. I have renounced the world; I have renounced life; but I cannot renounce Abelard."

If the letters of Heloise breathe only tenderness and despair, in those of Abelard there appears greater efforts for fortitude: reason and a sense of duty struggle with the remembrance of an unhappy passion; till he at length resolves to tear from his heart this slender consolation, and renounce the indulgence of a correspondence so pernicious to the tranquillity of Heloise, and so hazardous to his own.

Fated to enjoy no rest, ten years after his retirement to the abbey, a process of heresy was, in 1140, again preferred against Abelard, before the archbishop of Sens. At the request of the accused, liberty was granted him of defending his doc-

trines before a public assembly, in which Lewis VII. was present. The accusation, consisting of propositions drawn from the writings of Abelard, was delivered to the assembly by St. Bernard: the malignity of the accusers, who spared no subterfuge or perversion, triumphed: the writer appealed in vain against the unfair proceedings of his adversaries to pope Innocent II.: the book was condemned. St. Bernard having prepossessed the pontiff against the appeal of the author, before he had time to present himself at the papal tribunal, the sentence was confirmed. His writings were condemned to be burned, he was prohibited from teaching, and his person confined.

Some time after this ecclesiastical tyranny, at the solicitation of the abbot, permission was granted by the pope for Abelard to be received into the monastery of Clugny. In this asylum he was treated with great humanity, reconciled by the abbot to St. Bernard, and admitted into the society; where, humble and laborious, he employed himself in reading lectures to the monks. The anxiety of his mind, and the severity of his life, gradually undermined his constitution; a complication of diseases seized him: he was sent from Clugny, for the restoration of his health, to the priory of St. Marcel, upon the Soane, near Chalons, where, in the sixty-third year of his age, April the 21st, 1142, he terminated his misfortunes and his life. In conformity to his desire, his remains were sent to the chapel of the Paraclete, and delivered to Heloise for interment. In the manner of the times, a form of absolution was sent with the corpse by the abbot of Clugny, with an epitaph to be engraven on his tomb.

Heloise survived this affecting event twenty years, during which she devoted herself to study, and to the severe performance of the duties of her vocation. The fame of her piety and learning spread through Europe. Her knowledge of the Greek, Latin, and Hebrew languages, is commended by Abelard: she is also spoken of by the abbot of Clugny, as surpassing in learning and talents, not merely her own sex, but the majority of scholars. In the calendar of the house of Paraclete, her name is recorded as "mother and first abbess of the convent, famed for her religion and learning." In commemoration of her skill in the languages, it became an annual custom

in the Paraclete, on the day of Pentecost, to perform divine service in Greek.

This illustrious and unfortunate woman expired May 17, 1163. She exhibited, in her last illness, an example of patience and fortitude. If, as it is said, she requested to be united with Abelard in the grave, her desire was not granted; yet the tombs of the lovers, as founder and foundress of the Paraclete, are placed near each other in the convent. By every feeling heart the spot will ever be considered as sacred; and the story connected with it recalled with emotion.

It is related in a manuscript at Tours, with a romantic and pardonable superstition, that the grave of Abelard, being opened for the reception of the body of Heloise, the corpse, twenty years buried, stretched out its arms to receive and embrace her.

Berrington's Heloise and Abelard—Lives of Heloise and Abelard, by John Hughes, esq.—Bayle, &c. &c.

HELPES.

Helpes, or Elpès, was the first wife of Anicius Martius Torquatus Severinus Boetius. She was a native of Messina, and a branch of the most illustrious and considerable families in Sicily. She was distinguished for her virtues and capacity, the ornament of her own sex, and the pride and happines of her learned consort, in whose studies, however profound and abstruse, she was a constant participator. To learning and science she added a taste for polite literature; nor was she less respected for exemplary manners. In 520 she was in the prime of her life. It is believed, by some writers, that she was the daughter or sister of Elpidius, physician in ordinary to Theodoric king of the Goths. On her decease, Boetius inscribed on her monument a Latin epitaph, expressive of the conjugal affection by which they had been united.

Biographium Fœmineum—The Female Worthies.

CECILIA HERON.

CECILIA, third daughter of sir Thomas More, was born in London, 1510. She made, with her sisters, great progress in the learned languages. The purity of her Latin style is commended by Erasmus, with whom she also corresponded. She was married when very young, to Gyles Heron, esq. of Stakelwel, in the county of Middlesex.

Ballard's British Ladies—Biographium Fœmineum.

HERSILIA.

AFTER the rape of the Sabine women, who were carried off by the Romans to people their new-founded colony, Hersilia, the wife of Romulus, having demanded an audience of the national council, laid before them a project, formed by herself and her companions, of acting the part of mediators between their husbands and fathers. This offer, having been deliberated upon and accepted, the women were permitted to depart, on condition that each other mother, as a pledge of her return, should leave as an hostage one of her children; the others were to be carried with them, for the purpose of conciliating the Sabines.

Having laid aside their ornaments, and put on mourning, the women with their children in their arms, repaired to the camp of their countrymen, and threw themselves at the feet of their fathers and brothers. In this position, Hersilia, in the name of the rest, made to the assembled chiefs an eloquent and pathetic harangue, and, by her tears and remonstrances, prevailed on them to agree to a conference with the Romans. In the interview which followed, all differences were accommodated, and articles of peace and alliance drawn up between the two nations. The duties of the women thus reconciled, they reaped the reward of their conjugal and filial piety, in several privileges and marks of distinction, which were conferred upon them by unanimous consent. A festival was afterwards instituted to their honour, called *Matronalia*, in which the Roman matrons received presents from their husbands.

Roman History, &c.

HILDEGURDIS.

HILDEGURDIS was an abbess of the Benedictine order, of the monastery of St. Rupert, in the earldom of Spanheim, in Germany. She was the author of several volumes on medicine and theology: she also composed a book of Latin poems.

Biographium Fœmineum.

HIPPARCHIA.

HIPPARCHIA, born at Maronea, a city of Thrace, in the time of Alexander the Great, was captivated by the wisdom and eloquence of the philosopher Crates. When pressed by her family to make choice of a husband, out of a numerous train of admirers, rich, noble, and handsome, she declared, that she would bestow her hand only on Crates. Her friends, alarmed and mortified by this resolution, intreated the philosopher, in whose honour and integrity they confided, to use his influence and eloquence to induce Hipparchia to abandon her resolution. Crates deceived not the confidence reposed in him. After vainly using with his fair disciple every argument, and displaying to her his poverty and austere manner of life, he threw off his cloak before her, and discovered the deformity of his figure; and, at the time, having laid on the ground his staff and his wallet, 'See here,' said he, 'the man you have chosen, and the goods he possesses. Consider well, you cannot become my wife without leading the life prescribed by our sect.'

Hipparchia declared herself satisfied with the conditions, took the habit of the order, conformed to its obligations, and cheerfully followed the husband she had chosen to the public festivals and assemblies, where the Grecian women were unaccustomed to appear. Being in company where, in the course of conversation, a quotation from a tragedy was cited, describing a woman who had abjured, with the distaff and the spindle, the occupations and habits of her sex, 'I,' replied she, 'am that woman. Have I made an ill use of my choice, rather to spend my time in philosophising than in spinning?'

Hipparchia composed some discourses, in which it is said

she reasoned in a style resembling that of Plato: she also wrote some tragedies in elevated and philosophical language; with reasons and questions proposed to Theodorus the atheist. She bore a son to Crates, who was called Pasicles.

Bayle's Historical Dictionary—Biographium Fœmineum

SUSANNA HOPTON.

Susanna Hopton, born in 1627, was descended on the side of her father from the ancient family of the Hoptons in Staffordshire, and on that of her mother from the Wisemans of Torrel's-hall in Essex. She gave her hand to Richard Hopton, esq. of Kington, in the county of Hereford, barrister at law, and one of the Welsh judges in the reign of Charles II., and also in that of James II. In the earlier periods of her life, Mrs. Hopton had, by the artifices and arguments of father Turbeville, a Romish priest, been induced to embrace the catholic faith; but as her understanding improved, and her knowledge increased, she became sensible of the fallacy of the reasoning by which she had been seduced, and returned to the religion of her ancestors. "She was," says her biographer, "endowed with an excellent understanding, fine wit, and a solid judgment." These talents had, it appears, been but little improved by education; a disadvantage which she was accustomed to lament; but which, by intense application, she was enabled to overcome. She particularly delighted in theological studies, which were the fashion of the times. "She attained," says Dr. Hickes, "to a skill in the sacred sciences, not inferior to that of the best divines." After her reconversion to the church of England, of which she became a zealous member, she addressed a long and learned letter to father Turbeville, in which she recapitulated her reasons for the change in her faith. To the ministers, whose consciences would not allow them to conform, and who, by deprivation, were reduced to poverty and distress, Mrs. Hopton was a generous benefactress: at her death, she left to them, in trust, the sum of eight hundred pounds.

In forsaking the superstitions of the Romish church, she seems still to have retained a predilection for forms, which she carried to a scrupulous excess. She devoted five days in every

week to religious worship, from which no business was allowed to divert her. In an advanced period of life, and in the extremity of winter, she rose to her devotions at four in the morning; she also practised fasting, and voluntary mortifications, as if the benevolent Author of the universe took a pleasure in the sufferings of the being he had formed! It has been observed, and perhaps not without justice, that infidelity is less pernicious than unworthy notions of the Deity. Mrs. Hopton was greatly attached to the clergy, whom she held in extraordinary reverence. She was also a public defender of the constitution, doctrines, and discipline of the church. She was the first person who reformed the "*devotions in the ancient way of offices;*" which, being transmitted to her friend, the learned Dr. Hickes, was by him communicated to the public. She also wrote a book entitled "Daily Devotions, consisting of Thanksgivings, Prayers, &c." This production was afterwards reprinted, and attributed to a clergyman; a mistake refuted by Dr. Hickes. "An Hexameron, or Meditations on the six Days of the C[illegible]n;" with other pious treatises, composed by Mrs. Hopton, were published in one volume, by the rev. ——— Spinkes, with a preface, containing a short account of the author. Several poems also on religious subjects, were written and published by this lady.

A short time previous to her death, she removed from Kington, to the regret of the neighbourhood, in which her charities had been numerous, and where she was respected for her liberality and talents, to Hereford. She survived her husband, who died in 1696, and expired at Hereford, July 10th, 1709, in the 82d year of her age. Her remains were deposited, according to her request, with those of her husband, in the parish church of Bishop's-Frome, in the county of Hereford. An inscription to her memory, by Dr. Hickes, was engraven on her tomb.

Biographium Fœmineum—The Female Worthies, &c.

HORTENSIA.

Hortensia, daughter of Hortensius the orator, emulated the eloquence and the fame of her father, when she pleaded before the triumviri* the cause of the Roman ladies, on whom a tax had been imposed for defraying the expenses of the war.

* Mark Antony, Octavius, and Lepidus.

For this purpose it was decreed, that fourteen hundred of the Roman women should declare the value of their estates, and that such as failed to deliver in an exact detail, should be fined, and informers of such concealments receive a reward. The ladies, in this dilemma, had recourse to the sister of Octavius, to the mother and to the wife of Mark Antony, whose intercession with the triumvirs they supplicated. By the two former they were graciously received, but from Fulvia, the wife of Antony, they suffered a rude repulse.

Not yet discouraged, they resolved to address the triumviri, and appointed for their speaker the daughter of Hortensius. Hortensia, as recorded by Quintilian, acquitted herself, on this occasion, with great eloquence and ability. The triumvirs, incensed by the resistance and courage of the women, ordered their officers to turn them out of the court; but a general murmur of the assembly prevented the execution of this insolent mandate. The business was therefore adjourned till the succeeding day, when it was decreed, that four hundred women only should be required to disclose the state of their possessions.

Bayle's Historical Dictionary—Biographium Fœmineum.

ANTONIETTA DE LA GARDE DES HOULIERES.

This lady, not less celebrated for her poetical talents, than admired for the charms of her person, was born at Paris, 1638. Her genius and literary talents, encouraged and cultivated by Henault, procured her, with the most flattering distinctions, the favour and patronage of the great. Her poems are still read and admired. Of madame des Houlieres an anecdote is related, which proves that, to a lively imagination, she added the stronger qualities of courage and presence of mind.

Being on a visit to a friend in the country, she was informed that one of the apartments in the house had for a long time been rendered useless, by a terrible apparition which haunted it nightly. Madame des Houlieres expressed her curiosity to witness this appearance, to ascertain its reality, and to relieve the family from their apprehensions. It was in vain that her hostes remonstrated against her purpose, the lady, though advanced in a state of pregnancy, determined on making the experiment.

Having taken possession of her post, towards the dead of the night, when all was quiet, she heard the door of the chamber

suddenly pushed open: she called out, inquiring who was the intruder, but received no answer: the spectre seemed to approach with a dull kind of sound, and a heavy tread. Presently a table was overset, the curtains shook, and a stand near the bed was thrown down. The lady, rising up, stretched out her arms, concluding, from the mischief and confusion which had taken place, that the ghost must be tangible. Something soft, warm, and shaggy, met her hands, which she seized, without feeling any struggle or resistance. Afraid to let go her hold, or to examine farther, lest the spectre should escape, she remained, in the same constrained and painful attitude, till the dawn of day. During the interval she composed in her mind an ode against fear. The increasing light at length discovered to her, in an old yard dog, whose ears she had seized, the formidable phantom. The animal had been accustomed to seek in this chamber, which was never locked, warmth and shelter.

The satisfaction and amusement of madame des Houlieres, at the *denouement* of this terrible adventure, may be conceived. Having risen and dressed herself, she led her captive by her garter, which she tied round his neck, in triumph to the family; whose fears she rallied, and whom she impressed with a high idea of her spirit and fortitude.

She essayed her talents in various kinds of verse, heroic, didactic, epigrammatic, and pastoral, in the latter of which she more particularly excelled. On being seized with a lingering illness, and hearing of the conversion and penitence of M. la Fontaine, she conceived a high opinion of the abilities of the priest, who had been enabled to produce devout impressions on a temper supposed insensible, and determined to choose him for her confessor. With this gentleman she fulfilled the forms of her religion, and died at Paris, with courage and resignation, in a tranquil expectation of "another and a better life," in 1694.

She left a daughter of her own name, who, though inferior to her mother, possessed a talent for poetry; and, in her first composition, bore away the prize at the French academy, for which, it is said, Fontenelle was a candidate. This lady was also a member of the academy Ricovrati of Padua, as was her mother, who was likewise a member of Arles. The daughter died at Paris, 1718. The works of both mother and daughter were correctly published in 1747, in two volumes 12mo.

Biographium Fœmineum, &c. &c.

ANN HYDE.

Ann Hyde, the elder of the two daughters of the lord-chancellor Clarendon, inherited a large portion of the talents of her father, to which she added, in a singular degree, the beauty and accomplishments of her own sex. She had a dignity in her manners which was sometimes mistaken for pride. She frequently amused herself with writing and composition; and made a considerable progress in the life of her husband, which she showed to Dr. Burnet in manuscript, but which was never concluded. Her conduct as dutchess of York, did her great credit. She died March 31st, 1671.

HYPATIA.

Hypatia was the daughter of Theon, who, distinguished for his astronomical knowledge, presided over the celebrated academy of Alexandria in Egypt, towards the latter end of the fourth century. Hypatia, who early manifested extraordinary capacity and acuteness of mind, was educated by her father in all the learning of the times, and initiated into the abstruse sciences; while to a profound erudition, she added all the graces, charms, and accomplishments of her sex. Her endowments, and progress in every branch of learning and knowledge, is established by the concurrent testimony of a crowd of contemporary writers, both civil and ecclesiastical, by whom she is said to have surpassed her father in astronomical skill, and to have excelled in general learning the philosophers of her time. Synesius, Socrates, Philostorgius, Damascius, Nicephorus, Gregoras, Callistus, Photius, Suidas, Hesychius, and Illustris, have, with others, spoken of the extraordinary learning and genius of Hypatia. By Socrates, an ecclesiastical historian, and consequently an unsuspected witness, she is expressly said to have outstripped in learning all the philosophers of her age, "*and those of every other age.*" This testimony is corroborated by Nicephorus, also an ecclesiastical writer. By Philostorgius it is likewise affirmed, that she surpassed her father in astronomical knowledge: Suidas also mentions, with high commendation, two books written by Hypatia, one on the astronomical canon of Diophantus, the other

on the *coni* of Appollonius. By him it is likewise averred, that she not only excelled her father in astronomy, but that she likewise understood all the other parts of philosophy.

Her illustrious qualities and singular talents recommended her, on the death of her father, as his successor in the Platonic or Alexandrian school, in which a woman filled, with honour, the chair that had been occupied by Hamonius, Hierocles, and the most eminent scholars of the age; and this at a period when Alexandria and other parts of the Roman empire, abounded with learned men. "In this situation," says Socrates, "she explained to her hearers the several sciences comprehended under the general name of philosophy; while disciples from all parts flocked to her lectures." It is said by Suidas, that she explained and illustrated to her auditors, with equal perspicuity and precision, the various tenets of every philosophical sect; each of which, he adds, had previously been considered as a sufficient province to exercise the diligence of any one man consummate in letters. The numerous disciples of Hypatia, who was emphatically termed *the Philosopher*, were united to each other, and to their fair preceptress, in the strictest bonds of friendship and benevolence: they styled themselves *companions* or *fellows*, as was customary at Athens, and other seminaries of learning.

Among them may be mentioned Synesius, a native of Cyrene in Africa, on the borders of Egypt, to which having travelled, as to the fountain-head of science, he enrolled himself among the disciples of Hypatia, in the Alexandrian school, where he made a rapid progress in every branch of learning and philosophy. The great talents and universal knowledge of Synesius were celebrated by the writers of his age, particularly by Nicephorus, Gregorus, patriarch of Constantinople, by Suidas, Protius, and others. Synesius, afterwards consecrated bishop of Ptolemais, bore, on various occasions, a grateful testimony to the learning and virtues of Hypatia. "Salute," says he, in a letter to his brother Euoptius, "the most honoured and the most beloved of God, the philosopher, and that happy fellowship which enjoys the blessings of her divine voice." In another letter he speaks of Egyptus, "who sucked in the seeds of wisdom from Hypatia." Also, in writing to Olympius, he thus expresses himself: "I suppose these letters will be delivered by Peter, which he will receive from that sacred hand. I send them from Pantapolis, to

our common instructress, and she will entrust them with whom she thinks fit, which I am sure will be to one that is well known to her." In a letter addressed to Hypatia, he desires her to direct a *hydroscope**, such as he describes, to be made and purchased for him. A celebrated silver *astrolabe*, presented by him to Peonius, a man excelling both in philosophy and arms, he declares to have been perfected by the directions of Hypatia. He also, in a long epistle, sent to his preceptress with two books, informs her of his reasons for having written them: the one was a mystical treatise on dreams, the other an ingenious apology for learning: on the latter he intreats the judgment of Hypatia, being resolved not to publish it but with her approbation. He likewise tells her, that she is the first among the Greeks, or rather the heathens, to whom he has communicated these productions. "To complete," says he, "the sacred number *three*, I shall add to these an account of the astrolabe presented to Peonius."

To the respect and gratitude of her disciples, and to the praise of learning and talents, Hypatia added the esteem of the public: the purity of her manners, and the dignified propriety of her conduct, commanded general reverence and regard. She was consulted by the magistrates in all cases of difficulty and importance, and her decisions uniformly observed. She frequented the societies of men, and lived in the midst of their schools and assemblies, with an unblemished reputation: the lustre of her talents and attainments was softened by the unassuming simplicity of her manners; and the fascinations of her personal attractions chastened by the purity of her conduct. Modest but not timid, firm without arrogance or hardness, she received unembarrassed the honours and distinctions paid to her singular endowments. She was visited, admired, and caressed, by the governors, the nobles, and magistrates, by the learned, the ingenious, and the curious. Her extraordinary attainments, amiable qualities, and personal beauty, procured her the addresses of the most eminent men of the age, who sought her in marriage: by some, it is said, that she became the wife of the philosopher Isidorus, but the truth of this report appears uncertain: it is affirmed by Suidas that she died unmarried. The

* Thought by Petavius to be a sort of level, by others a measurer of the hours.

austerity of her manners, among her disciples, suppressed in their birth those emotions to which her beauty gave rise, and preserved her from the insinuations of gallantry, or the solicitations of passion. A true professor of the Platonic school held wisdom and virtue only to be beautiful, and the conquest of the passions the only meritorious fortitude: that corporeal symmetry and loveliness were but a faint transcript of the divine charm of mental excellence, was their favourite principle. By the refinements of her precepts, and the severity of her behaviour, the fair academician silenced the presumptuous wishes of those among her scholars, who had not yet become adepts in the sublime doctrines of the founder of their sect.

While Hypatia thus flourished the brightest ornament of the schools, Orestes, under the emperor Theodosius, governed Alexandria, of which Cyril was bishop or patriarch. Orestes, whom his rank and education had qualified to judge of the admirable qualities of Hypatia, treated her with distinguished respect and attention; visiting her frequently, and delighting in her conversation. Cyril, who cherished against Orestes an inveterate hatred and jealousy, observed this intercourse with a malignant eye: he had been elevated to the patriarchal throne by sedition and tumult, in opposition to Timothy, an archdeacon of but little reputation; was of a turbulent, ambitious, and intolerant temper; and had, by his usurpations on the civil authority, and prying scrutiny into the actions of the governor, incurred his suspicion and dislike.

A sedition had been excited against Orestes by Hierax, a pedagogue, or school-master, an implicit disciple and partizan of Cyril, by whom he was encouraged and protected. Hierax afterwards appearing at the theatre, when the governor was present, the Jews accused him as a disturber of the public peace, and a sower of mischief. Cyril, in revenge, banished the Jews from the city, where from the time of Alexander they had, to the great advantage of the state, lived undisturbed in opulence and prosperity. Orestes, incensed at the temerity of Cyril, and at the injury which the city was likely to sustain, laid the affair before the emperor. Cyril, conscious of the unpopularity of his conduct, the citizens taking part with the governor, began to be alarmed, and made overtures towards a compromise and reconciliation. Orestes, aware of

his character, received his advances with coldness; the enmity became more inveterate, and, in its consequences, prepared the way for a fatal catastrophe, of which Hypatia was the destined victim.

Certain monks, residing in the Nitrian mountains, among which they possessed numerous monasteries, flocked to the city, where, encountering the governor in his chariot, they reviled and abused him, using in their rage, among other epithets of reproach, those of sacrificer and heathen. Orestes, not doubting to whose agency he was indebted for this public outrage, cried out that he was a christian, and had been baptized by Atticus at Constantinople. Regardless of this attestation, the monks continued to insult him, while Ammonius, one of the most furious hurled at him a stone, which wounding him on the head, covered him with blood. The guards, with a few exceptions, terrified at this violence, deserted their master, lest they should share his fate, and concealed themselves in the crowd. The citizens of Alexandria, with more loyalty and courage, rose in defence of their governor, and, having seized Ammonius, put his companions to flight. The ring-leader, being dragged before Orestes, was, in conformity to the laws, sentenced to expire on the rack. The party of the governor, and that of the patriarch, laid before the empire, on this occasion, their several complaints; while the latter, having received the body of Ammonius, deposited it in one of the churches, with a panegyric on his courage and sufferings in the cause of truth; and, changing his name to Thaumasius, he ordered him to be considered as a martyr. The more moderate among the christians, convinced that Ammonius had but suffered his deserts, justly disapproved of the zeal of their patriarch, who, Orestes having escaped his vengeance, still thirsted for a victim.

The favour of Hypatia with the governor, who took a pleasure in testifying his respect for her talents, rendered her obnoxious to the rage and bigotry of his enemies, who accused her of obstructing an accommodation between the civil and ecclesiastical powers. A conspiracy, headed by Peter, a lecturer, and a furious zealot, was therefore formed against her. Laying in wait for her, they seized her on returning from a visit, dragged her from her chair, and, having hurried her to a church called Cæsars, barbarously stripped her, and murder-

ed her with tiles, when, tearing her body in pieces, they consumed it to ashes in a place called Cinaron. This violation of the laws of humanity, and horrible mockery of religion, was committed during the time of a solemn fast, and is attested by contemporary historians;* who add, that Cyril, a pretender to letters, and emulous of fame, was jealous of the talents and reputation of Hypatia, whose destruction he had solemnly vowed.

In the life of Isidorus, by Photius, it is related, that the patriarch, passing by the residence of the female philosopher, and observing an extraordinary concourse of persons who thronged her doors, some appearing to be entering, and others coming from the house, inquired into the cause of this crowd, and was informed in reply, that this was the habitation of the philosophical Hypatia, to whom the people flocked to testify their respect. The priest, seized with a pang of envy too poignant to be concealed, from that moment meditated her destruction.

The emperor, when informed of the tragical fate of this incomparable woman, manifested great concern, and threatened the assassins with the just recompense of their crime; but, at the intreaties of his friends, whom Edesius had corrupted, was induced to suffer them to escape, by which means, it is added, he drew vengeance on himself and his family.

The murder of Hypatia, whose name posterity has consecrated, was perpetrated in the fourth year of the episcopate of Cyril (Honorius being the tenth, and Theodosius the sixth time, consuls), during Lent, in the month of March, in the year 415.

Toland's Life of Hypatia—Biographium Fœmineum, &c.

JANE,

QUEEN OF FRANCE.

Jane, daughter to Peter I., duke of Bourbon, was born in 1337, and, in 1350, married Charles V. of France, neither of them having completed their 13th year. The beauty and talents of Jane reflected lustre and dignity upon her rank. Her husband, passionately attached to her, consulted her on affairs

* Socrates, Nicephorus, Damascius, Suidas, Hesychius.

of state, and, on days of solemnity, frequently carried her with him to the parliament, where she took her seat publicly by his side. By his will he delegated the regency to the queen, notwithstanding he had three brothers of mature age. Jane, however, died before him, in child-bed, at the Hotel de St. Paul, in Paris, February, 1378. Her death, under the circumstances in which it took place, proved a real misfortune to France. She is spoken of, by historians, as one of the most accomplished and virtuous princesses of her times.

History of France, &c.

MARY CATHERINE DE JARDINS.

Mary Catherine de Jardins flourished in the seventeenth century. She was born at Alençon, a small town in Normandy, of which her father was the provost. At twenty years of age, a slender patrimony, and the consciousness of possessing talents, prompted her to forsake her native place, and seek distinction and fortune at Paris. Nor did she overestimate her powers. Though possessed of little personal beauty, her genius, her vivacity, and the charms of her conversation, procured her numerous acquaintance and admirers; among whom Mr. de Ville-Dieu, a gentleman of good fortune, with an agreeable person, distinguished himself by the ardour and sincerity of his devotions. To this gentleman she gave her heart and her hand: unfortunately, he survived not long his marriage, when his widow, overwhelmed with affliction for her loss, retired for a time into a convent.

On quitting this retreat, and returning into the world, she contracted second nuptials with M. de la Chate, whom she also buried. Sensibly touched with this second disappointment, she renounced marriage, and determined to devote the rest of her life to literature and society. Her first production was a romance, which she purposed to extend to several volumes; but, her story being founded on a real adventure, she was threatened with the resentment of those whom it concerned; in consequence of which she relinquished her plan. She was not discouraged by this check from exercising her talents and imagination: she invented a new method of writing: her

short gallant novels and stories superseded the ancient heroic romance. This style of fiction, more amusing, but less favourable to virtue and elevation of mind, than that which it displaced, became popular, and continued to prevail. Her 'Journal Amoreux," her "Annales Galantes," her "Galanteries Grenadires," were universally read. In 1672 she published "Les Exiles de la Cour d'Auguste," which is praised by madame de Sevigné. This was followed by "Les Désordres de l'Amour," and "Les Portraits des Foiblesses humaines." In these novels, in which she chose for her heroes the greatest men of the latter ages, there is a mixture of truth and fable which tends to bewilder and mislead. It appears by one of her letters, which gives an agreeable description of the Hague, that she had visited Holland.

The men of wit and pleasure of the age courted her society, and addressed to her verses and letters, to which she replied in the same strain of gallantry. Her conduct, during her widowhood, was by no means irreproachable. She died in 1683: her works were soon after reprinted in ten volumes, and again reprinted at Paris in 1702.

Bayle's Historical Dictionary—Biographium Fœmineum.

MARY DE JARS,

LADY OF GOURNAY.

Mary, daughter of William de Jars, lord of Neufoi and Gournay, and of his wife Joan de Haqueville, sister to the president of the great council, was born in Gascony, 1565. From her infancy she discovered a taste for literature, to which she wholly devoted herself. Her apprehension was quick, her mind active and acute, and her progress rapid. The first Essays of Montaigne, soon after their publication, fell into the hands of Mary de Jars, who perused them with eagerness and delight, and conceived a high esteem and reverence for the author. Montaigne, gratified by the praises she bestowed on his work, and by her predilection in his favour, returned the compliment by commending her talents. In 1588 they met at Paris, where Montaigne adopted his young disciple, who had lately lost her father, as his daughter,

and returned with her and her mother to Gournay, at their earnest request, where he received from the ladies every affectionate attention, and where he remained three months.

Mary de Jars determined on a single life, that her devotion to letters might receive no interruption from family cares. Montaigne returned her hospitality and friendship by contributing to her improvement: in his second book of Essays, he praises her capacity, and presages her future excellence and fame. The daughter of Montaigne, the viscountess de Jamaches, acknowledged madame de Jars as a sister: to this lady she dedicated "Le Bouquet de Piede." The friendship between the families was, for many years, productive of mutual pleasure, till the death of Montaigne dissolved the bond. Madame de Jars, on this melancholy event, crossed almost the whole of France, to mingle her tears with those of the widow and daughter. Not satisfied with this testimony of respect for the memory of her friend, she revised, corrected, and reprinted his Essays, in 1635, which she dedicated to cardinal Richelieu, and to which she prefixed a preface, strongly expressive of her reverence and esteem for the author. "This preface," says Bayle,* "deserves to be read, and will more especially please those who love the history of books and editions. Her judgment of these Essays, and the respect and esteem she professed for their author, when personally unknown to him, procured her the friendship of Montaigne, who, having reflected upon her observations, adopted many of them, and foretold that she would be capable of great things."

Cardinal Richelieu, who patronised madame de Jars, offered to enlarge the small pension which had been granted to her by the king, that she might be enabled to keep an equipage; but she declined this favour. While her pension was small, she considered it purely as a tribute to her merit; but she chose not by its enlargement to subject herself to dependence. Its value was enhanced to her by the punctuality of its payment, for which she was indebted to the esteem of the intendant. She was respected and regarded by the most eminent persons of France, and distinguished by the princes and princesses of the blood.

* Historical Dictionary.

Yet these distinctions, however flattering, were not without an alloy. Madame de Jars was, in common with all persons of merit and talents, attacked by the shafts of malignity. On the assassination of Henry IV. by the Jesuit Ravaillac, in 1610, it was remembered that Mariana, a general of the order of Jesuits in Spain, had published a book, in the preface of which he had taken the part of Clement, the assassin of Henry III. Both papists and protestants united on this occasion against the Jesuits: father Coton, an eminent member of the society, undertook its vindication, and was answered in a piece entitled "Anti-Coton."

Madame de Jars engaged in this dispute, and wrote in defence of the Jesuits against Anti-Coton. She was attacked in reply by a virulent libel under the title of "La Remerciment des Beurrieres,"* which insulted her in the grossest and most illiberal terms, reproaching her with her age, and imputing to her a dissolute life. To this dastardly and infamous attack her sex and sensibility rendered her but too vulnerable. As the offence came under the cognizance of the civil magistrate, she petitioned the lieutenant-criminal for justice: her manners being irreproachable, the calumny was incapable of support: silent contempt would perhaps have been a more dignified and efficacious revenge. Her adversaries, perceiving their power to wound, repeated their blows in a pamphlet entitled "Anti-Gournay:" even cardinal Perron disgraced himself by reflections on the person and age of madame de Jars, whose talents and virtues he allowed.

The abbé de Marolles thus speaks of this lady: "This honest maid, whom I have frequently visited, and for whom I have always entertained an esteem, has a candid and generous soul. She possesses more mental than personal beauty, and a knowledge uncommon in her sex. Her writings both in prose and verse have been collected in a volume, which was printed during her life, under the title of 'Presens de la Demoiselle de Gournay.' Those who satirised her dishonoured themselves. She was admired and commended, during her life and since her death, by many persons of eminence, among whom may be named Michael de Montaigne, Justus Lipsius, cardinal de Perron, cardinal Richelieu, Cospean bishop of

* The Thanks of the Butter-women.

Nantz, M. de Rocheposai bishop of Poitiers, M. Seguier, chancellor of France, &c. She was visited by men of learning, and reckoned among her most esteemed friends M. de la Motte le Vayer, the prior Ogier and his brother, and Messrs. Huberts, Cerisai, L'Estoile, De Reval, Colletet, Malleville, and Boissehert, men well known in the republic of letters. Among these, if I mistake not, she honoured me with her friendship."*

In another part of his Memoirs, the abbé speaks of having taken a lodging in the rue de St. Honore, in the neighbourhood of madame de Jars, who was then (1636) printing the first edition of her works. He adds, that she was well received at court and by the princesses, and that the duke de Retelois, a man of gallantry and pleasure, eldest son to the duke de Nevers, would quit any lady by whom he might happen to be engaged, to converse with madame de Jars. Dominic Baudius calls her the French syren and the tenth muse.

There have been two amusing anecdotes told of this lady, of the truth of which the reader is at liberty to doubt. The first was printed in the "*Menagiana*," at Paris 1693. The other in the "*Recueil des Bons-mots*," under the title of "The three Racines." Madame de Jars, it is pretended, was desirous of conversing with the celebrated Racine, who, at the request of a facetious gentleman of his acquaintance, promised her a visit. This gentleman, having informed himself of the day and hour of the appointment, persuaded a person to anticipate the poet, and to assume his name. The visit over, he repaired to the house of the lady himself, under the same title, his person being unknown to her. On learning that a gentleman assuming his name had already been there, he affected great susprise and indignation. He had scarcely concluded his visit and left the house, when the real Racine appeared. Madame de Jars, who was a Gascon, and somewhat irritable, incensed at the trick played her, exclaimed vehemently, without giving her guest time to explain himself, 'What! must I see nothing but Racines all the days of my life?' Having thus expressed her wrath, arming herself with her slipper, she drove from her house the unfortunate Racine, who conceived the learned lady

* Mémoires de l'Abbé de Marolles.

had lost her senses, and whose astonishment and terror deprived him of utterance.* It is certain that the incident of the slipper gives this story greatly the appearance of fiction.

The other anecdote is of an opposite nature, and describes madame de Jars as living on terms of intimacy and freedom with the same Racine, who calling on her (as it is related) one morning, she showed to him some epigrams she had been writing, and requested his opinion of their merit. The poet pronounced them bad, and declared they wanted point. This objection, the lady replied, was not valid, because they were epigrams after the Greek fashion. The epigrammatist and the critic afterwards dined together at the house of a physician; a dish of soup was served up which madame de Jars declared to be bad. 'Madame,' said Racine, 'it is soup after the Greek fashion.'

Madame de Jars was a great enemy to the alterations made in the language by the French academy, which exploded many of the old words. This subject is alluded to by Sorel, in his "*Connoissance des bons Livres.*" "Among persons who were displeased by the suppression of the old words, may be mentioned good madame de Gournay, who has been justly placed with illustrious and ingenious women. This distinction she certainly deserved. But she was still more valuable for her generosity, good-nature, and other admirable virtues, than for her learning. Yet it must be confessed that she had always some resentment against the new authors of her times; nor was it without cause, since several of them took an illiberal pleasure in insulting her. It was her foible, that she could not speak with calmness of the new party or the new cabal. She both spoke and wrote against the innovators in language, in a book entitled 'Les Avis et les Presens de la Demoiselle de Gournay,' in which there are many chapters concerning the French language, particularly a chapter on diminutions; also observations relating to poetry, by which she attempted to revive the compound words, in imitation of the Greeks, and to support the language of Ronsard."

* The three Racines gave rise to a comedy, by the abbé de Bois, in five acts, under the title of "Les Trois Orontes." "Les Trois Gascons," "Les Trois Frères Rivaux," "Les Trois Cousins," performed on the Italian theatre, were taken from the same model.

Menage, describing the anger of madame de Gournay on this subject, enumerates the words proscribed as bad French:

——" Moult, ains, Jacoit,
Ores, adonc, maint, ainsi-soit,
A-tant, si que, piteux, icelle,
Trop plus, trop mieux, blandice, isnelle,
Pieca, tollir, illic, aincois."

Then, feigning that the dictionaries declare in their request, that,

" Bien que telle outrecuidance
(Soit dit sauf votre reverence)
Fist préjudice aux suppliants
Vos bons et fideles clients;
Et que de Gournay la pucelle,
Cette savante demoiselle,
En faveur de l'antiquité,
Eust notre corps solicité
De faire ses plaintes publiques
Du décri de ces mots antiques
Toutefois, &c."*

Persons advanced in life, whose habits are fixed, and whose tastes and opinions are become inflexible, are naturally adverse to innovation: writers more especially are jealous of changes that threaten to render vain the labours of their youth, to subject them to learn anew, and to yield to youthful and inexperienced rivals their well-earned laurels. It is difficult, in such situations, to divest themselves of partiality and prejudice. Yet madame de Gournay was not singular in her dislike to these changes: many authors of eminence have complained that a fastidious delicacy has impoverished the French language, among whom may be mentioned M. de la Bruyere.†

Madame de Jars de Gournay died in 1645, at fourscore years of age. She was interred in the church of St. Eustachius at Paris. Several epitaphs were written on her decease by the literati of the times. Madame de Gournay wrote a book on the equality of the sexes.

Bayle's Historical Dictionary—Biographium Fœmineum,&c.

* Though such presumption (with reverence be it spoken) does a prejudice to your petitioners, your good and faithful clients; and that the learned madame Gournay, in favour of antiquity, has solicited our body to make its public complaint against the decrying those ancient words; nevertheless, &c.

† Charactères de ce Siecle.

ESTHER INGLIS.

This lady is celebrated for her skill in calligraphy, or fine writing. In the beauty, exactness, and variety of her characters, she excelled all who had preceded her. A specimen of her delicate and beautiful writing was, in 1711, in possession of Mr. Samuel Kello, her great-grandson. Others are deposited in the castle at Edinburgh. In the library of Christ-church in Oxford are the Psalms of David, written in French by Mrs. Inglis, who presented them in person to queen Elizabeth, by whom they were given to the library. Two manuscripts, written by Mrs. Inglis, were also preserved with care in the Bodleian library: one of them is entitled "*Le six vingt et six Quatrains de Guy de Tour, sieur de Pybrac, escrits par Esther Inglis, pour son dernier adieu, ce 21 ejour de Juin*, 1617." The following address is, in the second leaf, written in capital letters: "To the right worshipful my very singular friende, Joseph Hall, doctor of divinity, and dean of Winchester, Esther Inglis wisheth all increase of true happiness. Junii xxi. 1617." In the third leaf is pasted the head of the writer, painted upon a card. The other manuscript is entitled "*Les Proverbes de Salomon; escrites en diverses sortes de lettres, par Esther Anglois, en Francoise. A Lislebourge en Escosse*," 1599. Every chapter of this curious performance is written in a different hand, as is also the dedication. The manuscript contains near forty different characters of writing. The beginnings and endings of the chapters are adorned with beautiful head and tail pieces, and the margins, in imitation of the old manuscripts, curiously decorated with the pen. The book is dedicated to the earl of Essex. On one of the first pages are his arms neatly drawn, with all their quarterings. In the fifth leaf, drawn with a pen, is the picture of Esther Inglis, in the habit of the times; her right hand holds a pen, the left rests upon an open book, on one of the leaves of which is written, "*De l'Eternel le bien, de moi le mal, ou rien.*" A music-book lies open before her. Under the picture is a Latin epigram by Andrew Melvin, and on the following page a second by the same author, in praise of Mrs. Inglis. In the royal library, D. xvi. are "Esther Inglis's fifty Emblems," finely drawn and written: *A Lislebourg en Escosse, l'anne* 1624.

Mrs. Inglis appears to have lived unmarried till she was about forty years of age, when she became the wife of Mr. Bartholomew Kello, a Scotchman, to whom she bore a son, Samuel Kello, who was educated in Christ-church college, Oxford. Mr. Samuel Kello, her grandson, was sword-bearer of Norwich, and died in 1709.

Biographium Fœmineum—The Female Worthies.

ISABELLA,

QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

Isabella, sister of Sigismond Augustus, king of Poland, a princess of great merit, was, in 1539, married to John Zapolita Vaivod, of Transylvania, who was elected king of Hungary in 1526, after having disputed the crown with Ferdinand of Austria, brother to Charles V. On the 7th of July, 1540, Isabella gave birth to a son during the absence of her husband, who was employed in Transylvania in the suppression of a sedition raised by the favourers of Ferdinand. Stephen Mailats, one of the most active of the revolters, had retired to the castle of Fogaras, to wait for succours from Ferdinand. In this situation he was besieged and taken by the king of Hungary, who, at the moment of victory, received tidings of the birth of his son. In the transports of his joy on this event, and on the recent success of his army, he gave a festival to his officers, and died a few days after, in the 53d year of his age, in consequence of the intemperance in which he indulged.

Isabella, unable to retain the crown for her son, implored aid from the Ottoman Porte, the armies of which entering Hungary, vanquished and destroyed the troops of Ferdinand employed in the siege of Buda. Solyman, who headed his forces in person, sent magnificent presents to the young king, whom he intreated he might be allowed to see, that he might engage his children to love him, and in future to espouse his cause. He excused himself, at the same time, with great gallantry from visiting the queen, lest their interview might prove injurious to her fame. Isabella, while she acknowledged the kindness and delicacy of the sultan, hesitated whether to trust her son in the Ottoman camp. But, at length, impressed by the services which

Solyman had rendered to her, and overcame by the entreaties and remonstrances of her counsellors, she determined on a compliance with the request of the sultan. The prince, placed in a magnificent cradle, on a carriage of state, accompanied by his nurse, with some noble matrons and lords of the court, was accordingly conveyed to the camp. He was received by Solyman, who tenderly caressed him, and presented him to his sons Bajazet and Selim, with every royal honour, as a vassal of the Ottoman house, and the son of John Zapolita, whom he had regarded and esteemed.

But these appearances, however specious, proved but a cover to the insidious purposes of the sultan, who, quickly throwing aside the mask, made himself master of Buda (September 5, 1541), and obliged Isabella to retire to Lippa, with the poor consolation of a promise from her treacherous ally, that when her son became of age Hungary should be restored to him. On this reverse of her fortunes, Isabella displayed great constancy, and endeavoured to content herself with the title of regent of Transylvania, which the rapacity of Solyman had yet left to her. But sorrow and disappointment still pursued her: having appointed, as her co-adjutor in the administration of government, George Martinusias a monk, she experienced from him a thousand mortifications, and found in the title of regent but an empty honour. A rupture with Martinusias was the consequence; when, enraged at the loss of his authority, he called in the assistance of Ferdinand, who introduced into Hungary an army, commanded by John Baptist Castaldo, marquis of Cassano. By the subtlety of this Italian commander, Isabella found herself compelled, in 1551, to resign Transylvania into the hands of Ferdinand, and to retire into Cassovia.

During her journey, she wrote on a tree some Latin words expressive of her adverse destiny. She is spoken of by Thuanus, who relates this incident, as a learned woman. "Unwilling," he observes, "to remain in a private station, in a place in which she had held the supreme authority, she set out with her effects to Cassovia, through a wild and mountainous country. The ruggedness of the roads having obliged her to descend from her carriage, she looked back towards Transylvania, while the driver was extricating his wheels, and, recollect-

ing her former station, breathed a heavy sigh, while she carved on a tree her name, and wrote beneath it the following sentence: SIC FATA VOLVNT."*

Her disposition was too restless and active to allow her to remain long at Cassovia: she departed thence into Silesia, and from Silesia to Poland, where Bonna Sforza her mother, and her brother Sigismond Augustus, resided. In the hope of regaining her power, she continued to preserve a correspondence with the grandees of Transylvania. She had also once more recourse to the protection of Solyman; and, in 1556, was, by her efforts and management, restored to Transylvania. She maintained her authority during the remainder of her life, without imparting any share of it to her son John Sigismond. Henry II. of France offered her succours, with one of his daughters in marriage to John Sigismond, then in the eighteenth year of his age, on condition that he should receive the education of a prince, and be instructed in the affairs of the kingdom and of government. This proposition was approved of by the lords of the council, who pressed Isabella to accede to the alliance. But being warned by her mother, whom she consulted, of the danger which threatened her authority from so potent an ally, and advised to keep the helm of government in her own hands, she rejected the proposal of Henry, and refused to allow her son any participation in the affairs of state. Neither was the young prince suffered to join the armies, the command of which, to the dissatisfaction of the nation, was bestowed on Michael Belassa, an imperious and untractable leader.

The ambition of Isabella, whose talents are allowed by historians, was, under a pretence of religion, excused by the monks. The great lords (they alleged), who had adopted the heresy of Luther, sought to remove the prince from his mother, not with a view of enlightening him in the affairs of government, but to induce him to forsake the faith of his ancestors; a purpose which they contrived to effect after the decease of Isabella. Solyman also wrote to the queen against tolerating the new sects, lest the minds of men being thus divided, the national peace should be disturbed.

* So Fate decrees.

These absurd and impolitic counsels produced however but little effect. After the death of Isabella, who expired September 15, 1558, and that of Solyman, who died in an apoplexy at the siege of Ziget, and who was succeeded by his son Selim, who wisely interfered not in matters of religion, Sigismond declared in favour of the heretics; when the Lutherans, Calvinists, and Arians, returned peaceably into Transylvania, under the protection of Petrouvitz, and were reinstated in their civil rights.

Bayle's Historical Dictionary, &c.

JULIANA.

JULIANA (*anchoret of Norwich*) lived in the reign of Edward III. and was the author of a book of Revelations. But little is recorded of the author of this singular production, which, under the following title, was given to the public by R. F. Jo. Gascoyn, L. abbot of Lambspring: "Sixteen Revelations of Divine Love, showed to a devout Servant of our Lord, called Mother Juliana, an Anchoret of Norwich; who lived in the Days of King Edward III." Published by F. R. S. Crossy, 1610. In a preface to the work, by the learned editor, we are told that Juliana "was of the strictest sort of solitary livers; being enclosed all her life (alone) within four walls; whereby, though all mortals were excluded from her dwelling, yet saints and angels, and the supreme king of both, could and did find admittance." In the beginning of the book we are informed, that it was "in the year of grace, MCCCLXXIII (at which time the author was about thirty years of age), that these celestial revelations were afforded to her." In the last chapter of the book it is related that, more than fifteen years after these revelations, "our Lord himself was pleased, for the resolution of a certain doubt of Juliana's, respecting the meaning of one of them, to answer her internally in ghostly understanding."

In tracing the progress of society and civilization, the history of the various victims to enthusiasm and superstition, affords to the philosophic and reflecting mind a picture not less curious than affecting. We are told that Juliana, fearful that a solitary imprisonment between four walls had not sufficiently

mortified her worldly affections, requested of the Lord "a sickness in extremity, even to death, in her own and others conceits; a sickness full of bitter pain and anguish, depriving her of all outward refreshments, and of all inward comforts, which might affect the sensual portion of the soul." What a waste of powers does there appear in these sublime absurdities!

Ballard's British Ladies—The Female Worthies, &c.

JULIA DOMNA.

Severus, emperor of Rome, who was addicted to magic and astrology, espoused Julia Domna, a native of Emesa in Syria, and daughter of a priest of the sun, who was reported to have had a royal nativity, and who certainly merited all that the stars could promise her. She possessed, even to an advanced age, great personal beauty, to which was united a lively imagination, a strong and correct judgment, with admirable courage and fortitude. Her merits, notwithstanding, failed to make a forcible impression on the heart of her husband, whose temper was severe, gloomy, and distrustful. It was during the reign of her son that Julia administered the affairs of the empire, with a prudence that supported his authority, and a moderation that corrected his extravagance. She cultivated letters and philosophy, was the friend of genius, and the patroness of the arts. Her reputation was splendid; the learned gratefully returned her liberality by extending the fame of their benefactress.

Two sons, Caracalla and Geta, had been the fruits of her marriage, and the destined heirs of the empire; the government of which devolved upon them on the death of their father, February 4th, 211. Raised to the throne, that abides no competitor, with equal and independent powers, their jealousy and discord shook the state, and were felt to the utmost verge of their dominions. To obviate these vexations, a separate interest and division of the empire was proposed between them; that to Caracalla should be allotted Europe and the western Africa, and to Geta the sovereignty of Asia and Egypt, while his residence should be fixed at Alexandria or Antioch, cities but little inferior to Rome.

The tears of the empress interrupted a negotiation that filled the Romans with indignant surprise: Caracalla, artfully pretending to listen to the remonstrances of his mother, consented to meet his brother, in her apartment, on terms of conciliation. During their conference, some centurions, posted for the purpose, rushed from their concealment with drawn swords, and, assisted by Caracalla, murdered the unfortunate Geta in the arms of his distracted mother, who was covered with his blood, and who, in trying to shield him from the fratricide, received in the struggle a wound in her hand.

Caracalla, when the deed was done, flew for refuge towards the pretorian camp; where, prostrating himself before the statues of the tutelar deities, he remained extended on the ground. The soldiers having attempted to raise and console him, he informed them, in disordered words, of the tragedy which had taken place; while he insinuated that he had, in self-defence, been compelled to the bloody action. Geta had been the favourite of the soldiery, but complaint was useless, revenge hazardous, and they still respected the son of Severus. As a persuasive proof of the justice of his cause, the emperor, in one lavish donative, distributed among them the accumulated treasures of his father's reign; while, to soften the public indignation, the remains of Geta were interred with imperial honours.

The jealousy of Caracalla being roused, when, on his return from the senate to the palace, he found his mother, with several noble matrons, weeping over the fate of Geta, he threatened them with instant death; a sentence which was executed against Fadilla, the last remaining daughter of the emperor Marcus. Even the unhappy Julia was compelled to stifle her sorrow, and to receive with dissembled complacence the assassin of her son. It is computed that, under the vague appellation of the friends of Geta, more than 20,000 persons of both sexes suffered death: his guards and freedmen, the ministers of his serious business and the companions of his festive hours, those who had been promoted by him in the army or in the provinces, with the train of their dependents, were included in the bloody proscription: to these was added every one who had maintained with him the smallest correspondence, who lamented his death, or who even mentioned his name.

Papinian, the pretorian prefect, who, during the reign of Severus, had exercised the most important offices in the state, who was related to Julia, and who had been conjured by the dying emperor to watch over the union and prosperity of the imperial family, was commanded by Caracalla to exert his eloquence in a studied apology for the murder of Geta. 'It is less difficult,' replied Papinian, having hesitated a moment between his honour and his safety, 'to commit than to justify a fratricide.' This answer cost him his life: his death was lamented as a public calamity.

Having filled up the measure of his crimes, the tyrant was at length assassinated by Martialis, a soldier, who had been refused the rank of centurion, which he solicited, and who thus avenged himself and the nation. Caracalla fell on a pilgrimage from Edessa to the celebrated temple of the moon, at Carrhæ, and Rome was delivered from a monster whose life was a libel on the human species, March 8th, 217.

Julia, having experienced all the vicissitudes of fortune, raised to greatness from a humble station only to taste superior misery, doomed to weep with tears of equal bitterness the death of one son and the life of the other, was sensible on the fate of Caracalla, though long anticipated, to the agony of a mother and the feelings of an empress. Notwithstanding the respectful deference with which she was treated by the new emperor, she descended with pain into the condition of a subject; and soon after, her ambition disappointed, and her affections withered, withdrew herself from a state of humiliating dependence by a voluntary death.

Gibbon's Decline of the Roman Empire.

ANNE KILLIGREW.

Anne, daughter of Dr. Henry Killigrew, master of the Savoy, and one of the prebendaries of Westminster, was born in London, a short time before the restoration of Charles II. Mr. Wood, speaking of this lady, says, "She was in beauty a grace; a muse in wit." She gave early proofs of superior talents, which were improved and cultivated by education. She displayed a taste for the fine arts, more particularly for poetry and painting; in both of which she became eminent. Mr. Dry-

den, who is lavish in her commendation, thus compliments her, in an ode prefixed to her poems:

"Art she had none, yet wanted none,
For nature did that want supply,
So rich in treasure of her own
She might our boasted stores defy:
Such noble vigour did her verse adorn,
That it seem'd borrow'd where 't was only born."

Of the purity and chastity of her compositions he thus speaks:

"Her Arethusian stream remains unsoil'd,
Unmixt with foreign filth, and undefil'd;
Her wit was more than man, her innocence a child."

She practised the art of painting with equal success, and drew portraits of James II. and his queen, which are highly commended by Dryden. She painted also historical pictures and landscapes. A print of her was taken in mezzotinto, from a painting of her own performance, by Mr. Becket, and prefixed to her poems. Her life was pure and exemplary; her mind active, and her disposition amiable. She was maid of honour to the dutchess of York, and died, sincerely regretted, of the small-pox, June 16, 1685, in the twenty-fifth year of her age, at her father's apartment, within the cloister of Westminster-abbey. Mr. Dryden, in an ode from which the following stanza is extracted, lamented this event:

"Now all those charms, that blooming grace,
The well-proportioned shape and beauteous face,
Shall never more be seen by mortal eyes:
In earth the much-lamented virgin lies!
Not wit, nor piety, could fate prevent,
Nor was the cruel destiny content
To finish all the murder at a blow,
To sweep at once her life and beauty too;
But, like a hardened felon, took a pride
To work more mischievously slow,
And plunder'd first, and then destroyed.
Oh! double sacrilege on things divine,
To rob the relique and deface the shrine!
But thus Orinda died:
Heav'n by the same disease did both translate,
As equal were their souls, so equal was their fate."

She was buried in the chapel of the Savoy hospital, on the north side of which is a plain monument of marble and free-

stone, erected to her memory, and fixed in the wall, on which is a Latin inscription, printed, with a translation, before her poems, which were published soon after her death, in a large thin quarto volume, London, 1686. The book is scarce, and out of print.

Ballard's British Ladies—Biographium Fœmineum.

KATHERINE KILLIGREW.

KATHERINE, fourth daughter of sir Anthony Cooke, born in 1530, was not inferior to her sisters in natural and acquired endowments. She was celebrated for her skill in the languages, and for her poetical talent, of which the following lines,* addressed to her sister, lady Burleigh, afford a specimen. The subject of this poem, either a lover, a husband, or a friend of the writer's, was appointed by queen Elizabeth as an ambassador to France, in perilous times. Katherine implores her sister to use her influence with her husband, the lord treasurer, to set aside this appointment, and to restore to her her friend.

"Si mihim quem cupio cures, Mildreda, remitti,
Tu bona, tu melior, tu mihi sola soror:
Sin malè cessando retines, et trans mare mittis,
Tu mala, tu pejor, tu mihi nulla soror.
Is si Cornubia, tibi pax sit et omnia læta;
Sin mare, Ciciliæ nuncio bella. Vale."

TRANSLATION.†

"If Mildred, to my wishes kind,
Thy valued charge thou send,
In thee my soul shall hold combin'd
The sister and the friend.
If from my eyes by thee detained
The wanderer cross the seas,
No more thy love shall sooth as friend,
No more as sister please.
His stay let Cornwall's shore engage;
And peace with Mildred dwell!
Else war with Cecil's name I wage
Perpetual war!——Farewel."

Katherine gave her hand to Henry Killigrew, esq. a Cornish gentleman, afterwards knighted for services performed

* Preserved by sir John Harrington in his Worthies.
† From Ballard.

for his country in the station of ambassador.* It appears from the will of sir Anthony Cooke, that this lady was living, May 22, 1576. She is interred in the church of St. Thomas the Apostle, in Vintry ward, London, where an elegant monument is erected to her memory, on which are inscriptions in Greek, Latin, and English. Several epitaphs and poems were written in her praise.

A fifth daughter of sir Anthony Cooke's, MARGARET, married to sir Ralph Rowlet, is mentioned by some writers. Mr. Strype, in his Memorials Ecclesiastical, under the year 1557, says: "Dec. 8. The lady Rowlet, one of the learned daughters of sir Anthony Cooke, and the youngest of the five, wife to sir Ralph Rowlet, knt. was buried in the parish of St. Mary Stainingen, London." This lady might possibly be a natural daughter, as the monumental inscription for sir Anthony Cooke, in the church at Rumford, in Essex, mentions only two sons and four daughters. Sir Anthony is represented with two sons behind him, his lady with four daughters.

Ballard's British Ladies—Biographium Fœmineum.

LOUISE LABE.

LOUISE LABE, *la belle cordiere*,† born at Lyons, 1527, is celebrated for her beauty, her talents, and her gallantry. She discovered an early predilection for letters and the arts: her taste for martial exercises is a still more singular trait in her character. At sixteen years of age she left her studies, to follow either a father or a lover to the siege of Perpignan, where she gave proofs of courage and military skill. On this occasion, she is thus characterised by the poets of her time:

'En s'en allant toute armée,
Elle sembloit parmi l'armeé,
Un Achille, ou un Hector.'

Soon after this expedition she married *Ennemond Perrin*, a merchant, possessed of considerable property, who traded principally in cordage, and who resided on his estate near Lyons,

* Her husband was most probably the subject of her address to lady Burleigh.

† The charming rope-maker, in allusion to the profession of her husband

in a house elegantly furnished, to which belonged spacious and magnificent gardens: these gardens led towards a place called *Belle Cour;* near which a street was afterwards built, named *La Belle Cordiere*, in honour of Louise Labe.

Her house, in which she formed a large library of the best authors, became the resort of men of letters, and persons of distinction, who resided in or near Lyons. In these societies, over which Louise presided as the inspiring muse, every thing was collected which could gratify the understanding, delight the imagination, or captivate the senses. The charms, the talents, the assemblies of *la belle cordiere*, excited jealousy, and provoked scandal among the ladies of Lyons: the writings of Louise, which breathed voluptuousness, or which satirised the frivolity and envy of her adversaries, afforded a new provocation to their vengeance. It is to be suspected, that the conduct of the fair *Bourgeoise* gave but too just a foundation for censure. Licentious, but not venal, talents and genius rather than fortune and rank gave a claim to her favours. In the following lines she attempts to palliate her faults:

"Le tems met fin aux hautes pyramides;
Le tems met fin aux fontaines humides;
Il ne pardonne aux braves colisées,
Il met à fin les villes plus prisées.
Finir aussi il a accoutumé
Le feu d'amour, tant soit-il allumé.
Mais, las! en moi, il semble qu'il augmente
Avec le tems, et que plus me tourmente."

The most distinguished of her writings is a fiction entitled, "*Debat de Folie et d'Amour;*" dedicated to her friend *Clémence de Bourges*, a writer of celebrity. This piece abounded in turns of wit, and beautiful and original thoughts. Erasmus and La Fontaine are said to be indebted to this production for the idea of the *Praise of Folly*, and *L'amour et la Foilie.* The elegies and sonnets of Louise Labe are held in high estimation among the French.

Bayle's Historical Dictionary—Sketch of the Lives and Writings of the Ladies of France by Anne Thicknesse.

CATHERINE LANDA.

CATHERINE LANDA, of Piacenza, sister to count Augustin Landa, and wife of count John Fermo Trivulcio, may be ranked among learned women. In 1526, being then in early youth, she wrote a Latin epistle to Peter Bembus; printed, with his answer, in his works. Catherine was not less admired for her beauty than her learning.

Bayle's Historical Dictionary.

MRS. JANE LANE.

THIS lady, who was a woman of great sense and spirit, is celebrated for the assistance she gave to Charles II. in his escape after the battle of Worcester. The king, disguised in her father's livery, rode before her on horseback, from Bentley-hall, in Staffordshire (the seat of Mr. Lane, about twelve miles from Boscobel-wood, in which Charles was concealed in an oak), to Mr. Norton's, near Bristol; an adventure which was conducted by Mrs. Lane with singular courage and address. Her services received a reward at the restoration. She married sir Clement Fisher, of Packington-hall, Warwickshire, bart. An anecdote respecting this escape of the king is related in the Life of Major Berradi. When Charles arrived at Bristol, at the house of sir George Norton, he went into the kitchen, by the advice of his protectress, the better to conceal his dignity. As he was standing near the fire, the cook desired him to wind up the jack; an office which he performed so awkwardly, that the spit stood still, and the meat began to burn. Provoked by his stupidity, the enraged Cicely gave him a blow. 'Where the devil have you lived,' said she, 'that you have not learned to wind up a jack?' The king, blushing, modestly replied, that he was the son of a poor tradesman, and had not been long in the service of his lady.

MARGARET LAMBRUN.

MARGARET LAMBRUN, a native of Scotland, was, with her husband, an attendant on the unfortunate Mary Stuart. M. Lambrun died for grief on the execution of his mistress; a cir-

cumstance which determined his wife to avenge his death, and that of the queen, on Elizabeth, the author of the catastrophe. For this purpose, she put on man's apparel, and, assuming the name of Anthony Sparke, repaired to the English court. She carried always about her a brace of pistols; one she designed for the queen, and with the other purposed to destroy herself, that she might not fall into the hands of justice. Pressing one day through the crowd to get near the queen, who was walking in her garden, she accidentally let fall one of the pistols. This circumstance being discovered by the guards, they seized her, and were about to hurry her to prison. Elizabeth, unsuspicious of her sex, was desirous of questioning the prisoner respecting her name, quality, and country. In reply to these interrogations, 'Though I appear,' said she firmly, 'in this habit, I am a woman: my name is Margaret Lambrun; I was for several years in the service of queen Mary, my mistress, whom you unjustly put to death. By her death, you also caused that of my husband, who expired with grief to behold an innocent queen perish so iniquitously. My affection for both these victims has determined me, at the peril of my life, to avenge their deaths by killing you who were the cause of this tragedy. I confess to you, that I have experienced many struggles, and endeavoured, though without success, to divert my mind from its desperate purpose. I find myself compelled to prove the truth of the maxim, that neither reason nor force can deter from vengeance a woman whom *love* impels.' 'You are then persuaded,' replied Elizabeth calmly, 'that in this action you have done your duty, and satisfied the claims which affection for your mistress, and tenderness for your husband, exact of you? What think you, now, is my duty?' 'Do you,' answered Margaret, with unshaken courage, 'propose to me this question as a queen, or as a judge?' 'As a queen,' said Elizabeth. 'Then your majesty ought to grant me a pardon.' 'But what security can you give me for the future?' 'A favour,' retorted the intrepid Margaret, 'conferred with restraint and limitation, is no longer a favour. Your majesty would thus act like a judge.' 'Though I have been thirty years a queen,' observed Elizabeth magnanimously, and turning towards some lords of her council, 'I never before received a lecture like this.' Hav-

ing thus said, she granted, in opposition to the opinion of her courtiers, and attending only to the suggestions of her own elevated mind, an unconditional pardon to the culprit; at whose request she extended her generosity yet farther, and gave her a safe conduct to France.

MARY LEAPOR.

Mary Leapor was born February 26, 1722. Her father was gardener to judge Blencowe, at Marston St. Lawrence, in Northamptonshire. Mary was taught to read and write by a sensible mother, and began early to give indications of superior taste and talents. She exhibited a propensity to poetry, which was at first encouraged by her parents, but afterwards checked, lest it should unfit her for her humble station. At length, perceiving the bent of her mind, her parents desisted from opposing it, and suffered her to pursue at leisure her inclinations. She died in the bloom of life, Nov. 12, 1746, a few days after her mother. Two volumes of her poems were published after her decease, in 8vo. 1748, and 1757. The latter volume contains a tragedy, entitled "The Unhappy Father;" also some acts towards a second.

ELIZABETH LEGGE.

Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward Legge, esq. an ancestor of the earl of Dartmouth, was born 1580. She discovered a peculiar talent for the acquisition of language, and was skilled in the Latin, English, French, Spanish, and Irish. She possessed also a poetical genius. From indulging too much in reading and writing by candle-light, she impaired her sight, and was blind many years previous to her death. She passed in Ireland the greater part of her life, and died unmarried, at the advanced age of 105. Her family were remarkable for longevity. She had six brothers and as many sisters. William, the eldest, distinguished himself by his adherence to Charles I. and died, 1670, aged 82. John, the fourth brother, lieutenant-colonel in the marquis of Antrim's regiment in Ireland, in the reign of Charles I.; deputy governor of Jersey, in the reign of

James II.; and ranger of Whichwood forest, died 1702, aged 109 years. Margaret, third daughter, wife of —— Fitzgerald, esq. lived more than a century. Anne, sixth daughter, wife to —— Anthony, esq. died, 1702, in the 112th year of her age. Their grandfather, William Legge, esq. lived 93 years.

Ballard's British Ladies—Biographium Fœmineum.

LEONTIUM.

Leontium, an Athenian courtesan, the concubine of Metrodorus, became a convert to the philosophy of Epicurus, and wrote in its defence. From her love of letters, she was drawn by Theodorus the painter, in a posture of meditation. She bore a son to Metrodorus, who was one of the principal disciples of Epicurus: from respect to the talents of Leontium, the philosopher, in his last will, recommended her child to his executors. She controverted the opinions of Theophrastus, a celebrated defender of the doctrines of Aristotle, and the ornament of the times in which he lived.

Bayle's Historical Dictionary.

ELIZABETH,

COUNTESS OF LINCOLN.

Elizabeth, one of the daughters and coheirs of sir John Knevets, of Charlton, in the county of Wilts, knt. married (towards the latter end of the reign of Elizabeth) Thomas earl of Lincoln, to whom she bore seven sons and nine daughters. She survived the earl, who died in 1618, many years. In 1628, she published a tract, entitled "The Countess of Lincoln's Nursery," which was addressed to her eldest son's wife. This performance is said to have been well written, and to have contained many judicious observations, and much good sense. It particularly recommends to mothers the performance of the duty of a nurse toward their own offspring.

Ballard's British Ladies, &c.

LIONNA.

HIPPIAS, after reigning eighteen years at Athens, became cruel and despotic. The Athenians growing weary of his tyranny, formed a conspiracy against him and his brother Hipparchus. Having concerted measures for their enterprise, the day of execution was fixed to be the feast of Panathenea, when all the citizens were in arms. The enterprise failed, Hipparchus only was slain, and the conspirators taken and put to death. Hippias, having escaped the fate of his brother, studied by what measures he might best effect his future security. He put to the torture the accomplices of the murderers, with a view of forcing them to discover the circumstances of the plot. A woman, named Lionna, who had been intimately connected with the conspirators, behaved on this occasion with heroic firmness. She sustained with courage the most cruel torments; and, lest their violence should at length extort from her what she chose to conceal, bit out her own tongue, and spat it in the face of the tyrant. The Athenians erected to her memory a statue without a tongue.

Robertson's History of Ancient Greece.

JAQUILINE DE LONGVIC,

DUTCHESS OF MONTPENSIER.

JAQUILINE, younger daughter to John de Longvic, lord de Givri, lived about the middle of the sixteenth century. In 1538, she espoused Lewis de Bourbon, duke of Montpensier. Thuanus praises this lady for her talents, her prudence, and masculine understanding. She possessed great interest in the French court, was the favourite of Catherine de Medicis, and in credit with the king of Navarre, who owed to her obligations, and between whom and the queen she preserved peace and amity. She was intelligent and skilful in the affairs of government, and always solicitous for the public tranquillity. It is said by Thuanus, and by the president de la Place, that her longer life would, in all probability, through her address and influence over Catherine, have prevented those commotions which happened after her decease. It was to her that the arch-

bishop of Vienne addressed himself, when, foreseeing the ruin of the princes of the blood, during the reign of Francis II. he told her, that if she kept not her promise of opposing the house of Guise all was lost.

She died, August 28, 1561, just before the breaking out of the religious dissensions. She manifested, during a lingering illness, what had been before suspected, an attachment to the protestant doctrines; which, by private instructions, she implanted in the minds of several of her daughters. The eldest, Frances de Bourbon, having given her hand to Henry Robert de Mark, duke of Bouillon, openly professed the opinions of the reformers, which her father, by entreaties and efforts, vainly sought to induce her to relinquish. Charlotte, the fourth daughter, had, against the wishes of her mother, who designed to unite her to the duke de Longueville, been placed by her father in a convent, where she became abbess of Jouare, and whence she afterwards escaped into Germany, 1572, abjured the Romish church, and became wife to the prince of Orange. Of three remaining daughters, two persevered in the monastic life, and the third gave her hand to the son of the duke de Nevers.

The dutchess de Montpensier was, on her death-bed, desirous of conferring with a minister of the reformed church. Malo was accordingly sent to her, whom she requested to administer to her the sacrament. The minister refused; upon the principle, that the communion service was not, like baptism, an individual and solitary ordinance, but a social institution. This sensible reply did not satisfy the dutchess, who wished by this means to make a public declaration of the faith in which she died.

It was by her influence with Catherine de Medicis, that Michael de l'Hôpital was made chancellor of France. "Had this been the only meritorious action of her life," says Bayle, "it ought to have consecrated her memory. No other person could have afforded, in so dangerous a conjuncture, an equal support to the monarchy." The dutchess also contributed to the preservation of the life of the prince of Condé.

Biographium Fœmineum—Bayle's Historical Dictionary, &c.

ELIZABETH LUCAR.

ELIZABETH, daughter of Mr. Paul Withypoll, was born in London, 1510. She was carefully educated, and became exquisitely skilful in every kind of needle-work; she was a curious calligrapher, and a proficient in arithmetic. She was mistress of the Latin, Italian, and Spanish languages, and played finely on various instruments of music. On a plate of brass, in the south aisle of the parish church of St. Michael, in Crooked-lane, London, is the following quaint and rude monumental inscription.

"Every christian heart seeketh to extoll
The glory of the Lord our onely Redeemer:
Wherefore dame Fame must needs inroll
Paul Withypoll his childe, by love and nature,
Elizabeth, the wife of Emmanuel Lucar,
In whom was declared the goodness of the Lord,
With many high virtues, which truly I will record.

She wrought all needle works that women exercise,
With pen, frame, or stoole, all pictures artificial,
Curious knots, or trailes, what fancy could devise,
Beasts, birds or flowers, even as things natural:
Three manner hands could she write them faire all.
To speak of algorism or accounts in every station,
Of women, few like (I think) in all this nation.

Dame cunning gave her a gift right excellent,
The goodly practice of her science musical,
In divers tongues to sing and play with instruments,
Both vial and lute, and also virginall;
Not only upon one, but excellent in all.
For all other virtues belonging to nature,
God her appointed a very perfect creature.

Latin and spanish and also italian,
She spake, writ and read, with perfect utterance;
And for the english, she the garland wan,
In dame prudence school, by graces purveyance,
Which cloathed her with virtues from naked ignorance.
Reading the scriptures to judge light from darke,
Directing her faith to Christ the only marke.

"The said Elizabeth deceased the 29th October, A. D. 1537, of years not fully 27. This stone, and all hereon contained, made at the cost of the said Emmanuel, merchant-taylor."

Ballard's British Ladies—Biographium Fœmineum.

LUCRETIA.

In the earlier ages of civilization, and in the first progress towards refinement, courage in one sex, and chastity in the other, from their immediate beneficial effects upon society, held the first rank in the heroic virtues. Among the ancient Romans, these qualities were carried to a height, and distinguished by a lustre, that has been rarely equalled, and never surpassed. A striking instance of this is exhibited in the tragical fate of the celebrated Lucretia, and in the important consequences to which it gave rise.

In the reign of Tarquinius Superbus, the government of Rome was conferred by him upon Spurius Lucretius Tricipitimus, the father of Lucretia, who was given in marriage to Collatinus, a prince of the blood royal. Tarquin, king of Rome, unable to render himself master of the town of Ardea, which resisted his arms, commenced a regular siege before it; during the continuance of which, the princes and officers frequently relaxed in convivial entertainments. Sextus, the king's son, having invited to supper his two brothers, with Collatinus, the discourse turned upon women; when the brothers, heated with wine, disputed, not, in the modern style, respecting the charms of their mistresses, but the beauty and virtue of their wives. The controversy becoming high, these gallant husbands discreetly proposed to decide the question by taking horse and repairing to the city, for the purpose of surprising the ladies, wholly unprepared for their visit.

This proposition, started by Collatinus, who vehemently contested the superiority of his Lucretia, was, in their present condition, received with applause by the princes, and immediately put in execution. On their arrival at Rome, the daughters-in-law of Tarquin were found at the table, regaling and amusing themselves with persons of their own age. Thence repairing to the house of Collatinus, the princes found Lucretia, though at a late hour, working upon wool, surrounded by her maids. The dispute being thus terminated in her favour, the young men returned to the camp. Sextus, in this short interval, struck with admiration by the modest graces of Lucretia, conceived for her a sudden and violent passion, which respect for her virtues was, in his ferocious mind, insufficient to chastise.

Some days after, intent on the gratification of his brutal and sordid purpose, secretly stealing from the camp, he revisited Collatia: Lucretia, unconscious of the effect of her charms, and unsuspicious of the design of her guest, received him with the respect due to a relation, and to the first prince of the blood. After partaking of a supper prepared for him, Sextus was conducted to a chamber, whence, having watched till the family had retired to rest, he stole softly, holding in his hand a drawn sword, to the apartment of his respectable hostess. Lucretia started in terror from her couch, when the prince, with the sword pointed at her breast, enjoining her silence, on pain of instant death, proceeded to declare to her his dishonourable purpose, to which he sought to bend her by every entreaty, allurement, or menace, which he conceived likely to undermine her principles, or shake her fortitude. Lucretia, equally unmoved by his persuasions or threats, repelled his licentious proposals with firmness and indignation; till, at length, having braved death, the fear of infamy vanquished her resolution. The brutal Tarquin, irritated by her scorn, swore, with horrid imprecations, should she persevere in her resistance, to murder, with his mistress, a slave; and, placing him in her bed, to publish, that the atrocious deed he had been impelled to commit was the punishment of the adultery in which he had surprised them. Honour triumphed over principle; Sextus retired, exulting in his crime.

The unhappy Lucretia, on the ensuing day, overwhelmed with shame and despair, sent an express to the camp, entreating the immediate presence of her husband and her father. On their arrival, having related to them briefly the guilt of the prince and her own dishonour, she implored of them to avenge her cause. In vain every argument that could sooth or convince, was urged by her father, and by her imprudent husband, to reconcile her to the consequences of an accident, of which she was wholly blameless. Disgraced in her own estimation, she refused consolation and abhorred existence; when, drawing a dagger from the folds of her garment, she suddenly plunged it in her heart.

Brutus, a relation, who was present at this affecting spectacle, perceived in it the occasion long desired of delivering Rome from the tyranny of the Tarquins. Thus was the heroic

chastity of a Roman matron immortalized in her country's freedom. The ravisher, to avoid the reproaches of his family, who owed to him their ruin, took refuge in a town of the Gabii, in which he had formerly commanded, and where he soon after perished.

An inscription is said to be seen at Rome, in the diocese of Viterbo, composed by Collatinus, in honour of Lucretia, to the following purport:

"Collatinus Tarquinius, to his most dear and incomparable wife, honour of chastity, glory of women. She who was most dear to me, lived two-and-twenty years three months and six days."

After the death of his daughter, Spurius Lucretius, who was created *interrex*, appointed Brutus and Collatinus to the consulship: the latter, on being compelled to resign his office, retired to Lanuvium, where he passed the remainder of a long life.

Bayle's Historical Dictionary—Biographium Fœmineum—Dictionnaire Historique, &c.

JOANNA, LADY LUMLEY.

JOANNA, eldest daughter and co-heiress of Henry Fitz-Allan, earl of Arundel, was first wife to John lord Lumley (who died April 11, 1609), by whom she had two sons and one daughter, who expired in their infancy. Lady Lumley translated from the original Greek into Latin, an oration of Isocrates, entitled "Archidamus." The manuscript in her hand writing is preserved in the royal library at Westminster, 15 A. 1. She also translated the second and third orations of Isocrates to Nicocles, and dedicated them to her father. The manuscript is preserved in the same library, 15. A. 9. She translated into Latin an oration, by the same author, in praise of peace, entitled, "Evagoras," which she likewise dedicated to her father. 5. A. 2. and 9. She also translated the "Iphigenia" of Euripides into English. 15. A. 9. Of her other works there is no authentic account, neither of the time of her decease. She was not living at the date of her father's will, Dec. 30, 1579. She is interred with her children in the chancel of the church at Cheam in Surrey; on the south side of

which is a slab of black marble, supported with white; and, in alto-relievo, two sons and one daughter, kneeling. On the upper part is a lady in the same attitude; over her are two hawks, and a curious engraving of St. George and the dragon: on the top is a horse; and, on the edge of the black marble, a Latin inscription, stating the birth and marriage of lady Lumley, her virtues, her qualifications, and her piety.

Ballard's British Ladies—Biographium Fœmineum, &c.

JULIA MESA AND MAMMÆA.

Julia Mœsa, the sister of Julia Domna (the widow of the emperor Severus), was, after the death* of the latter, ordered to leave the country. She accordingly retired to Emesa, with an immense fortune, and her two daughters, Sœmias and Mammæa, each a widow, with an only son. Bassianus, the son of the former, was consecrated high-priest of the Sun; a vocation, whether embraced from prudence or superstition, which contributed to raise him to empire. A numerous body of troops was stationed at Emesa, who, resorting in crowds to the temple, beheld, with mingled veneration and delight, the figure and elegant dress of the youthful pontiff, in whom they believed they recognized the features of Caracalla, whose memory his liberality had endeared to them. The politic Mœsa cherished this rising partiality, and, sacrificing the reputation of her daughter to the fortune of her grandson, insinuated that Bassianus owed his birth to the murdered emperor. The sums distributed by her emissaries with lavish hands completed the seduction, and confirmed the resemblance. Bassianus was in consequence declared emperor by the troops of Emesa, who, asserting his hereditary right, called aloud on the armies to follow the standard of a young and liberal prince, who had taken arms to avenge the death of his father, and to relieve the oppressions of the military order under Macrinus, the successor and supposed instigator of the assassination of Caracalla.

This conspiracy, concerted by women, was conducted with

* See Memoirs of Julia Domna, Vol. IV. p. 476.

equal prudence, vigour, and rapidity. Macrinus having neglected, by a decisive motion, to check his infant enemy, after floating some time between terror and security, marched to meet the forces of the young pretender, whose army received hourly accessions. The prætorian guards, under Macrinus, asserting the superiority of their valour and discipline, had broken the adversary's ranks, when the mother and grandmother of the prince, throwing themselves from their covered chariots, in which they had followed the troops, re-animated their courage, by exciting their compassion and sympathy. Bassianus, in this crisis of his fate, approved himself, for the only time in his life, a man and a hero: mounted on horseback, at the head of his rallied forces, he charged sword in hand among the thickest of his enemies. The battle still raged with doubtful fury, when Macrinus, by a precipitate flight, betrayed his own cause, and, by his cowardice, protracted for a few days an ignominious life. The prætorians, perceiving they fought for a prince by whom they were basely deserted, resisted no longer, but surrendered themselves to the conqueror. The armies uniting, mingled with their embraces tears of joy, and joined their banners with those of their countrymen, under the pretended son of Caracalla, whom they acknowledged with pleasure as the first emperor of Asiatic extraction. The victor announced his conquest to the senate in specious letters, filled with professions of virtue and moderation.

The Sun being worshipped at Emesa under the name of Heliogabalus, and in the form of a black conical stone, believed to have fallen from heaven, the new emperor ascribed his elevation to this protecting deity, whose name he assumed; a name dearer to him than the titles of imperial greatness.

By the contemptible superstition, effeminacy, dissoluteness, and weakness of his subsequent conduct, Heliogabalus compelled even the licentious soldiery, who had raised him to the throne, to blush for the infamy of their choice. Turning with sorrow and disgust from this monster of vice and folly, they observed with pleasure the opening virtues of his cousin Alexander, son of Mammæa, whom their grandmother Mœsa, aware that Heliogabalus must fall a victim to his crimes, had provided as a surer support of their family dignity. Having availed herself of a moment of fondness and fanatacism, she

prevailed on the emperor to invest Alexander with the title of Cæsar, and to relieve himself from the weight of earthly cares, which interfered with his own divine occupations.*

The young prince acquired in his elevation the affections of the public, and roused the jealousy of his cousin, who determined to corrupt his manners, or, failing in his brutal purpose, to take away his life. By the prudence of Mammæa these designs against her son were frustrated; when Heliogabalus, enraged at his defeat, degraded Alexander, by a despotic sentence, from the rank to which he had raised him. The message from the throne for this purpose was, by the senate, received in silence; but, by the soldiers, who swore to protect the prince, and to avenge the dishonoured purple, with a just indignation.

The emperor, terrified at the consequences of his arrogance, and at the storm he had provoked, had recourse to the most abject submissions, while, with tears, he intreated the soldiery, whose resistance he had provoked, to spare his life, and to content themselves with his abasement. Having listened to his supplication, they for the present satisfied themselves with appointing præfects to watch over the life of their favourite Alexander.

Heliogabalus, impatient under insults he wanted courage to repel, resolved on an experiment replete with danger.

To try the temper of the army, he caused a report to be circulated that Alexander was no more: the passions and suspicions of the camp were roused by this rumour, nor was the tumult calmed without the presence and authority of the supposed victim. Irritated at this new instance of his power and influence, the emperor dared to punish some of the leaders of the mutiny; a temerity which proved instantly fatal. The tyrant was, with his mother, massacred by the enraged prætorians, his mangled body dragged through the city, his remains thrown into the Tyber, and his memory branded with infamy.

His cousin Alexander, then only seventeen years of age, was, on this catastrophe, immediately raised to the imperial dignity. His grandmother Mœsa, and his mother Mammæa, held, in his name, the reins of government; but the former surviving the elevation of her grandson but a short period, the

* A. D. 221.

regency was vested solely in Mammæa. It was not the ostentation but the substance of power which was the object of the ambition of Mammæa, who maintained over the mind of her son an absolute ascendency. With her consent the young monarch espoused the daughter of a patrician: but jealous of the influence of his wife, she prevailed on her son, after a short period, to banish her into Africa. To this act of cruel policy, a charge of avarice is brought against Mammæa, whose administration is nevertheless acknowledged by historians to have been equally beneficial to the emperor and the empire.

With the approbation of the senate, she selected sixteen of the wisest and most worthy of its members as a perpetual council of state before whom every public measure of importance was debated. At the head of these was the celebrated Ulpian, distinguished for his knowledge of the laws, and his respect for their authority. Order and firmness were by these prudent measures restored to the government: the city was cleansed from the pollutions of Heliogabalus; luxury was checked; superstition discouraged; the creatures of the late emperor were removed from administrations, and their places supplied with men of virtue and talents. The only recommendations to civil offices were learning and the love of equity; and valor and discipline, the qualifications required for military employments. Mammæa, assisted by her counsellors, superintended with unremitting attention the education of the young monarch, whose character and mind, on which the happiness of millions depended, they wisely sought to form on the highest models. Nor were their labours unrewarded: as the understanding of the prince became enlightened he perceived the advantages of virtue, the pleasures of knowledge, and the utility of application. His passions mild and moderate, his reason assiduously cultivated, preserved him from the allurements of pleasure, and the seductions of vice; while his respect for Ulpian, and the rational affection of his mother, guarded his youth from the poison of flattery. Public business, literature, the study of history, of philosophy, and of man, together with the exercises of the body, which diversified and occupied his time, left him little leisure for frivolous amusements and pernicious indulgences. His repasts were frugal, his manners simple, and his relaxation the society of a few select and learn-

ed friends: with these he held instructive and familiar conversations, which the recital of some agreeable or elegant composition occasionally varied and enlivened. The dress of the emperor was plain, his temper conciliating, and his palace at certain hours open to all his subjects, while the voice of a crier pronounced aloud, "Let none enter these holy walls, unless he be conscious of a pure and innocent mind."

The Roman empire had, during a term of forty years, been scourged by the vices of four successive tyrants: a *woman* bestowed on the afflicted provinces happiness and peace: the reign of Alexander, under the influence of Mammæa, proved, for thirteen years, a delightful interval from misery and oppression. The empire, relieved from its taxes, flourished in tranquillity; the magistrates became convinced by experience, that to deserve the confidence of the people was the only method of obtaining favour from the sovereign; while statesmen might have learned, that wisdom and integrity are the truest policy, and that the safety of the rulers is in the happiness of the people. Some gentle restraints were imposed on the luxury of the nation; the price of provisions, and the interest of money, were reduced; while the prudence and liberality of the government, without oppressing industry, supplied the wants of the unfortunate, and provided for the public recreation. The dignity and freedom of the senate was restored, and every senator might approach the throne without fear or shame. It was the study of Alexander and his mother to restore to the empire the glory and happiness of the age of the Antonines: but, satisfied with the substance of virtue, the emperor magnanimously refused the lustre of a name, so often prostituted, which the people and the senate sought to press upon him.

In the zeal of reformation the emperor ventured a step too far, and unhappily precipitated his fate. A licentious soldiery, who in the vices of his predecessors had too often found their account, murmured at the restraints which a virtuous policy opposed to their encroachments. Accustomed to a lawless life, and impatient of limits to their power, they resisted the control of authority, and sacrificed to their resentment the father of his people, and with him the happiness of the empire. After a reign of thirteen years, Alexander perished, with his mother, March 19th, 235.

Gibbon's Decline of the Roman Empire.

MARGARET DE VALOIS,

QUEEN OF NAVARRE.

MARGARET de Valois, sister to Francis I. was born in the city of Augoulesme, in April, 1492. She was carefully educated in the court of Lewis XII. and married to the duke of Alencon, in December, 1509. In April, 1525, she became a widow. She was devoted to her brother with a lively and tender affection: during his detention in Spain, she obtained permission of the emperor to visit and console him in captivity and sickness: it was to her affectionate attentions and cares that he owed his recovery from a malady originating in the vexation and anxiety of his mind. Francis expressed a grateful sense of the tenderness of his sister, whom he acknowledged as the preserver of his life, and whose friendship he returned with warmth and sincerity. By her spirited remonstrances, and pathetic appeals, the emperor was induced to mitigate the severities under which his royal captive had suffered, and even to visit him in his prison.

She was the assistant of Francis in the cares of government, and in giving audience to the foreign ambassadors, whom she surprised by her talents for business, and charmed by her eloquence. In these negotiations, which were sometimes referred by the king wholly to her, she displayed great art and delicacy, drawing those with whom she conversed into communications of the importance of which they were not aware. During the confinement of Francis in Spain, she assisted his mother the regent, in regulating and governing the kingdom: by the powers of her mind she extorted the respect of those around her, while by her affability and amiable manners she attracted every heart. Her brother, who delighted in giving her proofs of his friendship and affection, appointed her, after his mother, regent and governess of Dauphiné, with equal honours and powers, as appears by an edict, made during his imprisonment at Madrid, November, 1525. "And if it happen that our said lady and mother, by sickness or other impediment, should be unable to exercise the said command, &c. We, in that case, will and ordain that our most dear, most beloved, and only sister, Margaret of France, &c. shall

in all things, respecting the said command, succeed our lady and mother, with the like power, authority, &c. &c."

In 1527 Margaret was given by her brother in marriage to Henry d'Albert, the second king of Navarre, who, by the marriage articles, granted her considerable advantages. On this occasion it was agreed that Francis should demand of the emperor a restoration of the kingdom of Navarre to Henry, with its ancient jurisdiction; and, in case of a refusal, should compel the emperor to acquiesce by an armed force. Margaret received, as a dowry on her nuptials, the dutchies of Alençon and Berry, with the county of Armagnac, which was entailed on the descendants of her marriage, whether male or female.

The new queen aided the efforts of her husband towards improving their dominions: they invited to Bearn, the soil of which, though fruitful, was neglected and waste, husbandmen from all the provinces of France, who occupied and cultivated the lands. They built and fortified towns, erected castles and seats, planted gardens, enacted laws, established courts, and reformed abuses. They polished the court, civilized the people, and defended themselves against the usurpations of Spain, by strong ramparts and fortifications.

Margaret also was greatly inclined to accomplish a work still more arduous and hazardous, in reforming the church and the manners of the clergy. Her opinions leant towards those of the new sect, as the protestants were then termed, whom she protected under their persecutions: her endeavours to temper the bigotry and soften the zeal of her brother, by means of his confessor the bishop of Senlis, had not been wholly unsuccessful. She had written and published a tract in verse, entitled "The Mirror of a sinful Soul." This production breathed a spirit and sentiment but little according with those of the church of Rome. She patronized, even in Paris, three preachers, who declaimed with eloquence and boldness against popular errors. She listened to those whom the church denominated heretics, received their books, and caused the Latin prayers of the church to be translated into French by the bishop of Senlis, to whom she spoke of the lutherans and the articles of their faith. She received into her house, as to a sanctuary, those who, on a religious account, were banished or proscrib-

ed. It is allowed by historians that the Reformation, but through her interference, had been stifled in its birth. She supported in schools, at her own expense, many of the reformed both in France and Germany. She endeavoured to preserve those whom freedom of thinking had endangered; and succoured the refugees at Strasburg and Geneva. She sent at one time to the learned in Geneva a benefaction of four thousand livres.

It is recorded of this princess, in the private registers of the parliament of Bourdeaux, that, coming into the court as governess, in the absence of her husband, she requested the release of Andrew Melancthon, accused of heresy, and a prisoner in the court gaol. Andrew, under a pretence of teaching schools, had been sent by his kinsman, Philip Melancthon, to propagate the new doctrines in the Agenois. In her conversation with her brother on these subjects, she sought to touch his heart with pity for the lutherans, and would probably have engaged him to favour the Reformation, but for the folly of some zealots, who, in the year 1534, exasperated the king by posting up libels, and drew on the lutherans a warm persecution.

On the return of Roussel from his travels, he was received at Bearn by the queen of Navarre, who took a pleasure in discussing with him the principles of protestantism. It was by Roussel that she was induced to peruse the Bible, then rudely translated into French. She conceived a fancy of composing from the New Testament tragi-comic pieces, which she caused to be represented before the king, her husband, by comedians from Italy. In these singular farces the friars and monks were severely satirised. From such representations the royal spectators repaired to apartments, in which sermons or exhortations were delivered by Roussel and other ministers, full of invective against the pope and the clergy. From these devotions, if so they may be called, they descended to a cave to perform the protestant ceremonies.

Francis, informed of the proceedings at the court of Bearn, sent for his sister, whom nevertheless he tenderly loved, to reprove her for her conduct. To him she professed herself a catholic, but, at the same time, entreated him to suffer the introduction of a reformed mass, called "The Mass in seven Points." The king appeared impressed by the address of his sister, and inclined to adopt the mass of seven points.

Her "Mirror of the sinful Soul" was printed in 1533. The Sorbonne, incensed by its contents, attacked the author in their sermons. A comedy was also performed, in the college of Navarre, in which the queen was represented as a fury from hell. The book was condemned, but on the complaints of Margaret to her brother of the insults she had received, several of the actors in the comedy were committed by Francis to prison, and the university compelled to disown the censure of the Sorbonne.

The celebrated John Calvin arrived about this time in Paris, where he distinguished himself equally by his zeal for reformation, and his intolerance against his brother heretics, who, more bold or more acute, dared to proceed a step beyond him. The fate of the unfortunate Servetus is too well known to require a repetition: so difficult is it to grant the latitude we claim, or to preserve a consistency in our principles and actions. Margaret, by an occasional conformity in complaisance to her brother, a temporising and probably prudent policy, incurred the censure of the Calvinists; while, on the other hand, she became obnoxious to their oppressors. The constable Montmorency, coversing with the king, observed, that, if he wished to exterminate the heretics, he must begin with his own court and family, naming the queen his sister. 'Let us speak no more of that,' replied Francis, 'she loves me too much to believe what I do not believe, or to take up a religion to the prejudice of the state.' Brantome observes, that the queen was suspected of lutheranism, which she forbore to profess openly through respect to her brother. Yet it is scarcely possible to suppose Francis unacquainted with the sentiments of his sister; the countenance and protection which she afforded to the party could not be concealed. The king, probably from motives of affectionate consideration, chose to affect ignorance on this occasion. By some writers it is considered as doubtful whether the queen of Navarre was merely philosophical and tolerant, or had in reality imbibed the principles of the reformers. A catholic writer* affirms, that, towards the conclusion of her life, Margaret acknowledged the error into which she had nearly fallen, and, resuming her former faith, declared that she had never really abjured it, but that her pro-

* Florimond de Remond.

tection of the heretics resulted from humanity and compassion for their sufferings. That on her death-bed she received the Romish sacrament, and in the latter periods of her life attended mass, practised confession, and founded churches and hospitals, among which was that of the red-coat boys at Paris, for the maintenance and education of orphans, whom she ordered to be called "The Children of God the Father." By Brantome it is related, that, after the death of the king her brother, she retired into a convent in Augoumois, called Tusson, where she was frequently seen officiating as abbess, and chanting with the nuns at their masses and vespers.

Highly to the honour of this princess, we are informed, that, beside extending her protection to the Huguenots, she defended from the rage and zeal of these reformers, Quintin and Pocques, who, in the language of the times, were called libertines;* but of whose integrity she was persuaded, while she disapproved their opinions. "Believing them to be honest men," said Beza, "though she did not profess their sentiments, she thought herself wounded through their sides." Calvin, by whom these persons had been roughly treated, received from her a reproof, in the true spirit of christian charity, for his virulence and bigotry. Her rebuke was answered by the reformer, who probably wished not to offend the protectress of the infant church, in a letter of respect and apology, April 20th, 1545.

Margaret took great pleasure in reading the Scriptures; while Bearn was said to be the sanctuary of all who were persecuted. James Stapulensis, a philosophical writer of those times, was welcomed to the court of Navarre, and received from the queen a pension.

In these liberal pursuits she suffered occasionally some opposition from her husband, who, having been one day informed that his wife had, in her private apartments, adopted a form of worship contrary to established usages, he abruptly broke in upon her devotions, with an intention of punishing the officiating minister, who, however, contrived to make his escape. The wrath of the king, thus disappointed in its object, fell upon Margaret, who it is reported, received a blow from her husband: 'Madam,' said he, 'you want to be too knowing.' Henry, complaining of his wife's heresies to her brother the

* *i. e.* Men who freely used their understandings.

king of France, received from him a severe reprimand. Francis, taking the part of his beloved sister, was offended with her husband for not treating her with the respect due to her rank and merit.

Margaret, whom the spirit of investigation had seized, appears to have entertained some doubts respecting the doctrines of a soul and a future state, which disquieted her mind: she loved not to dwell on the idea of death, of which she had the same terror that characterised her mother Louisa, the queen-regent, a sensible and accomplished woman, who had been attached to the world and to its enjoyments. It is related by Brantome, whose mother and grand-mother were attendants on the queen of Navarre, that, during a severe illness, her danger being announced to her by her ladies, she manifested a spirit of repining, and an extreme solicitude for longer life. In answer to those who told her she must prepare for her end, and fix her thoughts on a celestial state, "*Tout cela est vrai*," replied she; "*mais nous demeurons si long-temps en terre avant que venir là*." She uniformly appeared disgusted with those sermons and discourses of which death was the constant theme. An anecdote, which displays her sceptical curiosity respecting the subject, is too curious and characteristic to be omitted.

She declared, that, having often heard learned doctors and ecclesiastics assert, that, on the dissolution of the body, the immortal part was unloosed and set at liberty, she could not restrain her anxiety to observe whether any indications of such a separation were discernible at the hour of death. For this purpose she chose to witness the expiring moments of one of her ladies of honour, to whom she had been affectionately attached. Having attentively fixed her eyes upon her dying favourite till she ceased to breathe, some of her ladies inquired why she chose to be present at so affecting a scene. 'Because,' replied she 'I wished to discover whether the departure of the spirit was announced by any peculiar appearance or sound. But I have been able to perceive nothing of this.' Some doctors, she added, had illustrated this notion by a comparison with the song of a dying swan; a sound occasioned, as they believed, by the spirit struggling through the long neck of the bird. She had hoped, but in vain, she said, in like manner to have witnessed some symptoms of the departing

soul in her dying friend. In this expectation she had been disappointed, and, were she not well settled in the faith, she should scarcely know what to conclude respecting this separation of soul and body. But she was resolved to do what God and the church commanded her, without entering farther into these subtle inquiries.

In the last illness of her brother the king of France, to whom through life she had been tenderly attached, she suffered the most cruel anxiety. She declared, that she would embrace the courier who should bring her news of his recovery; that she would resign to him her own bed to repose in after the fatigue of his journey; and gladly lie on the ground. On hearing of the death of Francis she sunk into melancholy and indifference to the affairs of life, from which she never recovered.

In December, 1549, the queen of Navarre was seized with a catarrh, while looking at a comet, which she regarded as a sign of the death of pope Paul. She expired within eight days after, in the fifty-eighth year of her age. Of the four children which were the fruit of her second marriage, only one daughter survived her. An infinite number of panegyrics were pronounced at her death.

Margaret was indisputably the most accomplished princess of her time: devoted to the love of letters, she patronized men of learning and genius, from whom she received the flattering titles of the *tenth muse*, and the *fourth grace*. She composed several poetical pieces, collected together by John de la Haye, her valet de chambre, and published in 1547, under the title of "Marguerites de la Marguerite des Princesses très-illustre Reine de Navarre." She also wrote, in the manner of Boccace, the Heptameron, a collection of novels. Most of these stories are said by Brantome to have been written by Margaret in her litter as she travelled. "I have this account," adds he, "from my grand-mother, who attended the queen as lady of honour, and who held the standish for her while she wrote with singular facility." In her productions are proofs of her wit, her invention, and her talents: her style, if negligent, is full of beauty. "She was suspected of gallantry, says an agreeable writer;* and perhaps might have been

* Wraxall, History of the House of Valois.

equally sensible in turn to those grand movements of elevated minds, devotion and love. Her talents, scarcely inferior to those of Boccace, indicate, by the warmth of their colouring, a tender and sensible heart, while they inculcate and command chastity and fidelity."

Their authenticity, doubted by some, seems to have been sufficiently established by the epistle dedicatory of the editor, Claude Gruget, who, addressing Jane, only daughter of Margaret, declares, that he had restored the novels to their first state, the former edition, in which the name of the author was concealed or omitted, having totally transformed them. "Wherefore," adds he, "I have collected from all parts the manuscripts which could be recovered, and collated them with my copy. I have also reduced them to the order in which they were written; since then, with the king's permission and your consent, they have been put to the press to be published as they ought. Such a present to you will not be new; you will only recognize it as your mother's heiress. This second impression, restored to its pristine state, will, I persuade myself, be acceptable to you. With the first, I have been informed, you were justly displeased," &c. The Heptameron having become scarce, it was re-printed in 1698 by the booksellers of Amsterdam; when two editions of it were published, one that of Claude Gruget, the other in modern French. Some of these stories have been censured by the severe for the freedom of their descriptions; in excuse for which something must be allowed to the taste and manners of the age, to which modern refinements were unknown: something also to the design of the writer, who, in many of her novels, with a view of throwing an odium upon superstition, paints the dissolute manners of the monks and priests. It is no uncommon case for writers, intent on the moral, to be negligent respecting the tendency of their productions.

Margaret also occasionally composed comedies and moral interludes, or pastorals, which she caused to be represented by the young ladies of her court. She likewise took great pleasure in writing hymns and spiritual songs. She possessed a devotional turn of mind, though her strong understanding rejected the mummeries of the papal church, and took for her device the marigold (or probably the sunflower), which, turn-

ing from east to west, follows the course of the sun, with this inscription, "*Non inferiora secutus*," signifying, that she addressed and directed her thoughts and affections to God. She was on this account, to the honour of the reformed, suspected of lutheranism.

Some anecdotes are related of Margaret de Valois, and admiral Bonnivet, who, having entertained for her an ardent and almost hopeless passion, was, by the fervor of his sentiments, betrayed into extravagance and outrage. Repulsed by the dignity and virtue of the princess, he sought to gain by stratagem those favours which his eloquence and insinuation had failed to procure; but the vigilance and spirit of Margaret rendered all his projects abortive.

The generosity with which she protected those who suffered persecution for their religious opinions, reflects on the character of the queen of Navarre the highest lustre; while, if it be true, that, on her death-bed, she protested,* that what she had done for the followers of the new opinions proceeded from compassion, rather than from any ill-will to the ancient religion of her fathers, her merit is enhanced. A conduct like this, in a bigotted and superstitious age, bespeaks an understanding of a very high order. But, without derogating from her merit or talents, it is difficult not to suspect this princess of leaning towards the doctrines and principles of those to whom she proved herself an active and powerful benefactress: to suppose the contrary, in the circumstances and times in which she was placed, is betraying but little acquaintance with the human mind: a toleration and generosity so sublime and heroic, amidst disadvantages so numerous and formidable, where religious indifference does not appear to exist, seems to exceed the limits of human virtue. Her liberality to the learned among the reformed, her patronage of their schools, her attention to their writings and discourses, her predilection for reading the Scriptures, forbidden to the laity by the catholic church, her ridicule and exposure of the immorality of the Romish clergy, are all in favour of this opinion. Nor does this exercise of her own judgment on subjects held important and sacred, in despite of the prejudices of birth and education, the

* Florimond de Remond's History of Heresy.

allurements of rank, the censures she incurred, and the dangers which threatened her, reflect small praise on the vigour of her talents, her courage, and character.

Bayle's Historical Dictionary—Biographium Fœmineum—The Female Worthies, &c. &c.

MARIA.

MARIA, the wife of Zenis, who had governed Ætolia, as deputy under Pharnabazus, to whom he rendered signal services, having lost her husband, waited on the satrap, and entreated to be entrusted with the power enjoyed by Zenis, which she promised to use with the same zeal and fidelity. Her desire being granted, she effectually fulfilled her engagements, and acted on all occasions with consummate courage and prudence. She not only defended the places committed to her charge, but conquered others, and, besides paying punctually the customary tribute to Pharnabazus, sent him magnificent presents. She commanded her troops in person, and preserved in her army the strictest discipline. Pharnabazus, on account of her services, held her in high esteem. Maria at length perished by the cowardly treachery of Midias, her son-in-law, who, mortified with the reproach of having suffered a woman to reign in his place, privately gained admittance to her apartment, where he basely murdered both her and her son. But he enjoyed not long the fruit of his perfidy: the cities of Ætolia were soon after subdued by Dercillidas, when Midias, falling into the hands of the conqueror, was stripped of his ill-gotten wealth and power.

Robertson's History of Ancient Greece

LUCRETIA MARINELLI.

LUCRETIA Marinelli, a Venetian lady of wit and talents, published among other works, a production entitled "La nobilita & l'eccellenza delle donne, con dissetti & mancamenti de gli huomni."* She composed also, "La Colomba Sacra,"†

* The Excellence and Nobleness of Women, with the Defects and Faults of Men. Printed at Venice, 1601, 4to.

† The Holy Dove.

the life of the Virgin Mary and of St. Francis. Not satisfied with contending for the equality of the sexes, she insisted on the superiority of the female over the male. In Paris, 1673, a work on the same subject was published, "On the Equality of the Sexes, a Discourse, physical and moral, wherein is to be seen the Importance of freeing the Mind from Prejudices." The writer of this performance appears to have courted opposition, but, finding no enemy inclined to enter the lists with him, he became the opponent of his own arguments, and, in 1675, published a treatise "On the Excellency and Superiority of Man;" in which he purposely betrayed the cause he affected to espouse, and confirmed, though indirectly, his former opinions. Both of these works were reprinted at Paris, in 1679. The author remained concealed. It was at length asserted, in "Nouvelles de la République des Lettres," October, 1685, that Frelin was the name of the writer of these treatises; but, in the same work, some sime after, they were, on better evidence, given to Poulain, and ecclesiastic of Lorrain, who had embraced at Geneva the protestant faith. In a third edition, 1691, and in a third part of the work published in 1692, the author assumes the name of la Barre.

That women of talents and genius should contend for the existence of those intellectual powers of which, amidst the disadvantages imposed on their sex, they have proof in the force and acutencss of their own minds, is little wonderful. Madame de Gournai, Jaquette Guillaume, and various other writers, both ancient and modern, male and female, have taken up the pen on this fruitful subject. In 1643, "La Femme Généreuse, &c." was published at Paris, which endeavoured to prove, that women were more noble, more politic, more virtuous, more prudent, more learned, and more valiant than men. Jacobus de Pozzo printed at Upsal, in 1650, "La Donna migliore dell' huomo, Pardossa." Jerom Ruscelli published in 1552, "Che la Donna sia digrun lunga piu nobile and piu degena dell' huomo," a work in which the superiority is yielded to women. He observes that Plutarch, John Boccacc, il Certegiano, l'Agrippa, Portio, il Land, il Domenichi, and several others, have examined the same questions, and adopted the same conclusion. He quotes also Maggio and Bernardo Spina, who wrote in defence of this opinion.

Bayle's Historical Dictionary—Biographium Fœmineum, &c.

MARY,

QUEEN OF HUNGARY.

MARY, sister to the emperor Charles V. was born in 1503, and married, in 1521, to Lewis king of Hungary, who soon after lost his life at the battle of Mohatz. His widow was made governess of the Low-countries, in 1531, in which station she displayed great courage, prudence, and capacity. Her sagacity and penetration were of singular service to the emperor her brother; by whom she was consulted in all affairs of government. She conducted several wars with glory and success, frequently mingling personally on horseback among the troops. She had also a passion for hunting, and would sometimes pass whole days in pursuit of the game, in the forests near her country residences; on which account she received from the Flemings, who painted her as Diana, the title of huntress. She is said to have inherited this taste for laborious sports from her paternal grand-mother, Mary dutchess of Burgundy, wife to the emperor Maximilian the first, who, in pursuit of the chase, was thrown from her horse, and expired in consequence of the hurts she received, to the inexpressible grief of the Flemings, and of the emperor her husband; who also lost, by a similar misfortune, his second wife Blanch Sforza.

Mary sought to meliorate the fate of the protestants in the Low-countries, who suffered from the court of Spain cruel persecutions. Their discontents having risen high in 1566, to appease them the suspension of the inquisition was promised. To this was added an assurance, that the imperial laws, by which heretics were condemned to death, should be mitigated, as they had been, by the request of the queen of Hungary, in 1550.

The queen possessed a strong and masculine mind; and delighted in warlike exercises: she was also fond of study, particularly of the Latin authors; Erasmus dedicated to her a Latin book, in 1529, entitled "Vidua Christiana." Her person was majestic and handsome; her manners agreeable and amiable: she affected magnificence; her court was celebrated for its feasts, its tournaments and splendid spectacles. There appears to have been a particular animosity between this queen and

Henry II. of France, which was productive of much mischief and devastation: they ruined, in turn, each other's seats and palaces. These hostilities are said to have been commenced by Mary, whose resentment was excited by songs and lampoons, composed in France, reflecting upon her honour and that of Barbanson, the most accomplished and elegant nobleman of her court. These aspersions were probably without foundation; the whole tenor of her life was in contradiction to them: her masculine mind and habits but little disposed her to gallantry.

While her brother, the emperor, was besieging Mentz, Mary made a diversion in Picardy, to hinder the king of France from succouring the besieged: she made on this occasion great havoc, burning Noyon, Nesle, Chauny, Roye, and Folembrai, a royal palace built by Francis I. and ruining seven or eight hundred villages. She also laid siege to Heiden, of which she took possession. For these hostilities political motives, independent of private pique, were sufficient to account.

Henry retaliated the injuries he had sustained; he took Marienburg and Dinant, he likewise rased Bouvines, whose wretched inhabitants were slaughtered; ruined Hainault; and burned Mariemont, a country-seat belonging to the queen of Hungary; with the town of Bains, and its magnificent palace, adorned with pictures and works of sculpture. The ancient town of Bavets suffered a like devastation. It is thus that the quarrels of sovereigns, of which the people are the victims, are decided. The temper of Henry was averse to these destructive and barbarous measures; but a mistaken principle of honour led him to avenge the ruin of his castle of Folembrai; and the insults of the Flemings, who had for two days exposed there a a picture of Francis, his father, to the insolence of the populace. Thus, with savage fury, was a war carried on against the arts and humanity. The palace of Bains was celebrated as the wonder of the age. In the queen's chamber was figured, on tapestry of gold, silver, and silk, all the conquests and expeditions of Charles V.: every part of it was furnished with exquisite magnificence and splendor! Mary, on being informed of its destruction, was seized with indignation and anguish. Some time after, while contemplating its ruins, she swore that all France should repent the outrage, and that she would never

rest till Fontainbleau was levelled to the ground. Picardy suffered from her resentment and inflexible nature, which bordered on cruelty: the character of the queen of Hungary is justly stained by this imputation. Henry ardently desired to take his fair enemy prisoner, and to observe whether she would retain in captivity the courage and lofty spirit by which she was characterised. The Spanish soldiers, by whom the emperor was entitled 'El Padre de los Soldados,' gave to his sister the appellation of 'La Madra,' or mother of the camp; a title by which she was highly gratified.

She exercised her power in the Low-countries, where she was much beloved, from 1531 till 1555, till the abdication of Charles V. when she resigned the government, and followed her brother into Spain. Before her departure, she expended great sums in preparing sumptuous entertainments for the reception of Philip II. who came to take possession of the Low-countries. She died in Spain, Oct. 18th, 1558, a few days after Charles, at a time when she meditated a return into the Low-countries.

Bayle's Historical Dictionary, &c.

MARY,

AN ANGLO-NORMAN POETESS.

MARY, who made a considerable figure among the Anglo-Norman *trouveurs*, in the 13th century, may be regarded as the Sappho of her age. Unfortunately she mentions but few circumstances respecting herself: she informs us only that she was born in France, without specifying in what province. She appears to have resided in England at the beginning of the 13th century, but she speaks not of the motive which led her thither. It may be conjectured that she was a native of Normandy. Philip Augustus having made himself master of that province, in 1204, many Norman families passed over to Great Britain, where they established themselves. It is scarcely possible to fix on any other French province, under the dominion of the English, as the birth-place of Mary, whose language is neither that of Poitou nor of Gascony. She appears, however, to have been acquainted with the *Bas-Breton*, or Armoric tongue; whence it may be inferred that she was born in Bretagne.

The duke of Bretagne was at that period earl of Richmond in England; many of his subjects were in possession of knights' fees in that honour; and Mary might have belonged to one of these families. She was versed in the literature of Bretagne, from whose writers she frequently borrowed. It is, notwithstanding, by no means improbable, that she acquired the knowledge of both the Armoric and English languages in Britain: she was also mistress of the Latin. Her attainments afford a testimony, not merely of her capacity and talents, but seem likewise to imply a rank of life that allowed, with leisure, the means of study. Mary appears to have sought in her writings a temporary distinction, rather than to have considered posterity, since she says nothing that can throw any light upon her history; her christian name only is mentioned; and the reader is left in equal ignorance respecting her patrons.

Her first poems are a collection of lays, in French verse, forming various histories and adventures of brave and gallant knights. The stories, according to the manner of the times, are generally remarkable for a singular or wonderful catastrophe. These lays are in the British Museum, among the Harleian MSS. No. 978. They constitute the largest, and at the same time most ancient, specimen of Anglo-Norman poetry, of the kind, that has come down to the present age. The romances of chivalry among the old Welsh and Armoric Britons, appear to have furnished Mary with the subjects of her lays. She informs us, that, depending upon an excellent memory, she sometimes committed these stories to verse, after having merely heard them recited; and, at others, composed her poems from what she had read in the Welsh and Armoric MSS.

Mary observes, that she hesitated long before she devoted herself to this species of literature; that she often began to translate some Latin story into the *romance* language; but desisted, because so many writers had already trodden the ground. She therefore confined herself to the subjects of the Welsh and Armoric lays, a choice which her success justified. Her lays, which treated of the passions and emotions of the mind, appear to have been very popular. Denis Pyramus, an Anglo-Norman poet, testifies that they were heard with pleasure in all the castles of the English barons, and were relished more particularly by the women. He also speaks of them him-

self with praise: a panegyric from a contemporary writer can scarcely be doubted. Mary, as a foreigner, was particularly anxious to ward off the severity of criticism; she applied herself, for this purpose, carefully to the polishing of her works. The chief reward of a poet, she tells us, consists in first perceiving the superiority of his own performance, and estimating his claims to public esteem. Her unremitted attention, her apprehensions of failure, and repeated efforts to attain excellence, are expressed, by herself, with much nature and simplicity:

> Ki de bone mateire traite,
> Mult li peise si bien n'est faitê, &c.*

Her lays are dedicated to some king, whose name is left to conjecture; but, from various circumstances, is believed by the learned to have been Henry III. In proof of this opinion it appears, by the prologue, that the writer was apprehensive lest her success in a strange country should expose her to envy. She could not then have written in France. She sometimes, also, when at a loss for a syllable, intermixes in her verses pure English words, "Fire et chaundeles alumez." It should, therefore, seem that she wrote for the English. She is careful to translate into English all the Welsh and Armoric proper names; it follows, that she dedicated her Lays to a king who understood English. She declined translating Latin histories, lest her name should be confounded with the multitude of those who had preceded her; a circumstance corresponding with the reign of Henry III. when numerous Normans and Anglo-Normans had, for more than half a century, translated from the Latin romances of chivalry. We are informed, by Fauchet and Pasquin, that Mary lived in the middle of the 13th century, which coincides with the reign of Henry III. Denis Pyramus, who it is known wrote at that period, speaks of her as a contemporary, as an author whose person was no less beloved than her writings. These circumstances combined appear nearly conclusive.

The Lays of Mary are twelve in number. The first is the lay of *Guiguemar*, son of Pridial, lord of Leon in Lower Brittany. Of this M[illegible]e Grand gives an analysis in his Tales of the 12th and 13th Centuries: it consists of 860 verses. The

* Prolog. des Lais, de Marie.

second is the lay of *Quitan*, lord of Nauns or Nantois, and contains 314 verses. The third is the lay of *Fresne*, a history of the son of a Bas-Breton knight, who, although legitimate, is left exposed, as base-born, under an ash-tree: it consists of 450 verses. The fourth is *Bisclaveret*, and relates the history of a Bas-Breton knight, who is changed into a war-wolf: 284 verses. The fifth is the lay of *Lanval*, a knight of king Arthur's round table, who, being falsely accused by the queen of having insulted her beauty, is, by the orders of Arthur, tried for the offence at Cardiff, and delivered by a beneficent fairy, who conveys him to the isle of Avalon: 646 verses. M. le Grand has translated this lay into prose in his *Fabliaux;* there is also an ancient English metrical version of it, by Thomas Chestre. The sixth is the lay of the Lovers, who perished at the same instant, victims to their passion and to the caprice of a parent. The subject of this romance seems to be taken from the Ecclesiastical History of Normandy. The priory of the two lovers still remains near Rouen, which, according to tradition, was founded by the repentant father on the spot where the lovers perished, and over the tomb which contained their remains: 242 verses. The seventh is the lay of *Yvenec*, a Bas-Breton knight, the son of Muldumaric, lord of Carvent: 552 verses. The eighth is *Laustic*, the romantic history of a Bas-Breton knight, in which a nightingale makes a considerable figure: 158 verses. This tale has been translated into English metre, under the title of "The *Nythingale.*" The ninth is *Milon*, a British knight: 536 verses. The tenth *Chaitivel*, the story of a lady of Nantes, beloved by four knights, three of whom are slain in a tournament; and the fourth, Chaitivel, or The Unhappy, dangerously wounded: 224 verses. The eleventh, the lay of *Chevrefeuille*, an incident taken from the amours of Tristan de Leonnois with the wife of king March, his uncle. The twelfth, the lay of *Elidus*, a Bas-Breton knight: 1184 verses.

The smaller poems of Mary are said to be important towards the knowledge of ancient chivalry. Manners are described agreeably and faithfully: the attention of the reader is arrested by the subjects of the stories, by the interest with which the writer skilfully blends them, and by the simple and natural language in which they are related. Notwithstanding

her rapid and flowing style, nothing in the details is forgotten or omitted. The benevolent fairy, the deliverer of Lanval, is depictured with peculiar grace, while the costume of the age is accurately observed. The writer appears to have possessed, with a refined taste, great sensibility: her subjects are all melancholy; she touches and melts the heart of her readers, and calls forth all the passions of the mind.

Fauchet, who seems to be unacquainted with the Lays of Mary, mentions only her Fables, as do La Croix du Maine and Du Verdier. A collection of fables, translated in French verse, is her second work, in the prologue to which we are informed, that she had not engaged in it but for the solicitation of a man who was "the flower of chivalry and courtesy," and whom she styles earl William.

M. le Grand, in his preface to these fables, which he has published in French prose, hazards a conjecture, but without sufficient ground, that by Guillaume is meant William earl of Dampierre, though William de Dampierre never acquired the title of earl. It is rather in England, where the fables were composed, that the William alluded to by Mary is to be sought; and the qualities by which he is characterised seem particularly to accord with those of William Longsword, natural son of Henry II. and created earl of Salisbury and Romare by Richard Cœur de Lion. William Longsword was renowned for valour: the epithets applied to him by Mary, "the flower of chivalry, &c." emphatically express the general sentiment of his contemporaries. He died in 1226; the fables, therefore, must have been written previously to this date. The reputation Mary had acquired by her Lays, doubtless prompted the earl to solicit from her a similar translation of Æsopian fables, then existing in the English language. The fables display, with that beautiful simplicity of language peculiar to the ancient romance, great penetration and acuteness. It is possible that La Fontaine might have had them in view; and he appears to have been actually indebted to these fables for some of his subjects. Mary wrote in French at a time when the language, yet in its infancy, had a natural, artless, unpremeditated phraseology.

There are in the British Museum three MS. copies of the Fables. The first is incomplete, and contains only sixty-one

fables; the second has eighty-three; the third, one hundred and four. M. le Grand speaks of having seen four MSS. of these fables, each differing in number, in the libraries of France. These varieties are probably to be attributed to the transcribers.

There is a controversy respecting the Fables by the learned in antiquities, some of whom doubt whether an English collection of Æsopian fables really existed in the 13th century; or whether the Fables of Mary do not bear a greater resemblance to those of Phædrus. In testimony that Mary really translated her fables from a collection existing in her times, under the title of "The Fables of Æsop," is a MS. in the Royal library, 15 A. VII. which contains, in Latin, a great part of the Æsopian fables, or fables attributed to Æsop, and which expressly mentions their having been translated into English. This MS. bears the date of the 13th century. There is also internal evidence of the fables having been translated from the English. The talents of Mary are, however, not affected, though it should be admitted that many fables which he had never written were ascribed to, and bound up with, those of Æsop. The fables called Æsopian, which existed in the time of Mary, were published under the name of Romulus, the emperor, by whom they are said to have been translated from the Greek into Latin. Mary gives to Romulus this title; and, after observing with how much advantage the learned might occupy themselves in extracting from the works of the ancient philosophers proverbs, fables, &c. for the purpose of instructing and training men to virtue, she adds, that the emperor had successfully pursued this plan with his son, to enable him to conduct himself with propriety through life, &c.

Who this emperor was, whether he was indeed an emperor, or Romulus the grammarian, it little imports: it is sufficient to know that, in the time of Mary, there actually existed a collection of fables called Æsopian, published under the name of Romulus; that the author had imitated Phædrus; that these Latin fables had been translated into English; and that from this version Mary translated them into French verse.

The learned are likewise divided respecting the author of the English translation, which by some is imputed to king Henry, by others to Alfred; while many deny it to be either, believing, with more probability, that the authors and compi-

lers are rather to be sought for among the monks in the monasteries.

The third work of Mary is a tale in French verse of St. Patrick's Purgatory, originally composed in Latin by a monk, at the abbey of Saltery, dedicated to the abbot of that monastery, and to be found in MS. in many public libraries. There are two translations of this tale into French by different writers: the first in the Cotton library, domit. A. IV. the second in the Harleian, No. 273: the former consisting of eight hundred lines, the latter seven hundred. M. le Grand has given an analysis of one of these translations in his Fabliaux, vol. V. and on his authority it is ascribed to Mary. In the Cotton MS. there is nothing in support of this opinion; nor in the Harleian is the name of Mary mentioned. It is conjectured that she is the writer, from the translator having in the preface entitled the work "a lay," in which he professes he had rather engage than relate fables. M. le Grand possibly had better evidence, but he mistakes in supposing the tale an original, it being positively declared in the Harleian MS. that the work was translated from a Latin romance. This poem was at an early period translated into English verse, and is to be found in the Cotton library, Calig. A. II. under the title of *Owayne Miles;* sir Owen being the hero of the piece, who descends into St. Patrick's purgatory.

Whether Mary was the author of any other pieces is uncertain: her taste, added to the facility with which she composed the lighter kind of poetry, afford a presumption in the affirmative.

From the translation of a letter to F. Douce, esq. F. A. S. Archæologia, or Miscellaneous Tracts relating to Antiquity; vol. xiii.

DAMARIS, LADY MASHAM.

DAMARIS, born at Cambridge, January 18, 1658, was the daughter of Dr. Ralph Cudworth, master of Christ's college, Hebrew professor in the university, and the celebrated author of "The Intellectual System." Damaris was educated by her father with particular care, and distinguished in early youth for her learning and piety. She studied divinity and philoso-

phy under the direction of her father, and of Mr. Locke, author of "The Essay on Human Understanding," who was many years domesticated in her family, and who died in her house at Oates, in Essex, in 1704.

This lady married sir Francis Masham, of Oates, in Essex, to whom she was second wife. One son, Francis Cudworth Masham, was the fruit of this marriage, in whose education his mother exerted all her talents. He became afterwards one of the masters in Chancery, and accountant-general of that court. Soon after the marriage of lady Masham, Mr. Norris, attracted by the reputation of her learning and piety, inscribed to her his "Reflections upon the Conduct of Human Life, with reference to the Study of Learning and Knowledge:" London, 1689, 12mo. This compliment produced, between lady Masham and the author, an intimacy and friendship, which appears afterwards to have been dissolved through the different opinions of Mr. Norris and Mr. Locke, on the subjects of philosophy and theology.

Mr. N. published soon after his "Practical Discourses of Divinity." Several letters on the subject of this publication passed between the writer and Mrs. Mary Astell. In these letters, which were afterwards made public, it is maintained "that mankind are obliged, strictly, as their duty, to love with desire nothing but God." Lady Masham, on this occasion, took up the pen, and published, anonymously, a treatise, entitled "A Discourse concerning the Love of God:" London, 1696, 12mo. In this production she examines and endeavours to confute the ideas of Mr. Norris, &c. animadverting upon those who strain their principles to an impracticable height.

Mrs. Astell still continued to maintain her hypothesis, which is derived from the philosophy of Malebranche, and replied to lady M. in a work entitled "The Christian Religion, as professed by a Daughter of the Church of England." About the year 1700, lady Masham published "Occasional Thoughts in reference to a Virtuous or Christian Life:" London, 1705, 12mo. She complains in this performance of the neglect of religious duties from an ignorance of religious principle; enforces the necessity of a reform; and animadverts on the neglected education of daughters, among persons of high rank, and the frivolity and dissipation in which they consume their

time. She goes on to descant generally on the manners and characters of the times, without confining her remarks to those of her own sex; on the ignorance of the majority of English gentlemen, not merely of religious doctrines and their duties as christians, but of history, politics, morals, and the laws and constitution of their country, an acquaintance with which is essential to the characters of men and of Englishmen, and indispensable as a qualification for the stations they are appointed to fill. She adds, "Thus wretchedly destitute of all that knowledge which they ought to have are our English gentlemen: and, being so, what wonder can it be if they like not that women should have knowledge; for this is a quality that will give some sort of superiority even to those who care not to have it. But such men as these would assuredly find their account much better therein, if tenderness of that prerogative would teach them a more legitimate way of maintaining it." After observing, that a woman capable of instructing her children, and of implanting in their minds just principles, could scarcely escape becoming an object of ridicule, under the title of a learned lady, for the most laudable use of her time and talents, she very sensibly asks, "And is not the incurring of general dislike one of the strongest discouragements that we can have to any thing?"

Thus, expostulating with one sex, and endeavouring to inspire the other with a generous emulation, she exhorts women to assume their true dignity, and, by the instruction of their children, to raise the character of the age; reminding them of Cornelia the mother of the Gracchi, and of Aurelia the mother of Julius Cæsar; who, by their care in the education of their sons, rendered eminent service to their country.

Lady Masham gave in her own conduct an example of the duties she inculcated. She always professed herself greatly indebted to Mr. Locke for her acquirements in arithmetic, geography, chronology, history, philosophy, and divinity; while she repaid his instructions by the most perfect friendship, and the most grateful and affectionate attentions. She carefully and tenderly nursed him in his last sickness: the evening before his decease, he exhorted her to regard this world but as a preparation for a better. Perceiving his end draw near, she was solicitous to sit up with him through the night; but this mark

of her attention he refused to allow. On the ensuing day, as she read to him in a low tone of voice a portion of the Psalms, he desired her to read louder, which she did: he continued to listen to her with attention till interrupted by the approach of dissolution, when he told her to break off, and a few minutes after expired.

Lady Masham, as a tribute of grateful respect for his memory, drew up a biographical account of him, which is printed in the great Historical Dictionary, and which is there said to have been written by a lady. She survived her friend and tutor only three years, and died, with fortitude and resignation, April 20th, 1708. She was interred in the middle aisle of the abbey church at Bath. Over her grave is a black stone, thus inscribed: "Dame Damaris Masham." On a pillar near the grave is a plain white marble monument, an urn on the top, and the following inscription:

"Near this place lies Dame Damaris Masham,
Daughter of Sir Ralph Cudworth, D. D. and second
Wife to Sir Francis Masham of Oates, in the
County of Essex, Bart.
Who, to the softness and elegance of her own sex,
Added several of the noblest accomplishments and
Qualities of the other.
She possessed these advantages in a degree
Unusual to either, and tempered them with an exactness
Peculiar to herself.
Her learning, judgment, sagacity, and penetration,
Together with her candor and love of truth, were very
Observable to all that conversed with her, or were acquainted
With those small treatises she published in her life-time,
Though she industriously concealed her name.
Being mother of an only son, she applied all her
Natural and acquired endowments to the care of his
Education.
She was a strict observer of all the virtues
Belonging to every station of her life, and only wanted
Opportunities to make those talents shine in the
World, which were the admiration of her friends.
She was born on the 18th of January, 1658,
And died on the 20th of April, 1708."

Ballard's British Ladies—Biographium Fœmineum.

MATOAKS.

Matoaks, or Matoacka* (alias Rebecka), daughter to prince Powhatan, emperor of Attanoughkamouck,† was converted and baptized to the christian faith, at the age of 21, in 1616. The infant colony of Virginia owed its preservation to Motoaka, who may be considred as a national benefactress. In her 13th year, in 1607, she saved the lives and procured the liberty of capt. Smith and his people, whom her father had designed to murder by surprise. In 1612, she was herself a prisoner, and soon after married Mr. Rolfe. In 1616, having been instructed in the English language, and in the principles of christianity, she was brought to England, and introduced at court. The ensuing year she died at Gravesend, on ship-board, in her way home. Her good sense raised her above the prejudices of her education, and the barbarous customs of her country: her humanity and generosity reflect honour upon her memory. She was the first Virginian that learned to speak English, and that embraced the tenets of the christian church.

TARQUINIA MOLSA.

Tarquinia, daughter of Camillo Molsa, knight of the order of St. James of Spain, and grand-daughter of the celebrated Francis Maria Molsa, a poet and rhetorician of Modena, was born in the sixteenth century. Contemporary writers speak of this lady as a prodigy of erudition, and are lavish in praise of her genius, her learning, her virtues, her accomplishments, the graces of her manners, the sweetness of her temper, and the charms of her person. Her father observing, while yet in early childhood, the capacity and intelligence displayed by Tarquinia, determined to give to her natural talents every advantage which education could bestow. She was taught with her brothers the rudiments of language and science. John Politiano, a native of Modena, famed for his knowledge, his talents, and his virtues, was appointed her preceptor. Under

* She is called Pocahontas in Smith's History of Virginia.
† Virginia.

Lazaro Labadini, a celebrated grammarian, she studied composition and the belles-lettres. From Camillo Corcapani she acquired a knowledge of rhetoric, and from Antony Guarini, a mathematician, the doctrine of the sphere. By Francis Patricio, a famous philosopher, she was taught the art of poetry; with him also she read Plato. With P. Latoni she studied logic, philosophy, and the Greek language. Abraham Rabbi taught her the principles of the Hebrew, which led her to theology, in which she displayed extraordinary acuteness and subtlety. From John Maria Barbier, a man of learning and taste, she attained the purity of the Tuscan language, in which she wrote several elegant poems, also letters and other compositions, which obtained the approbation of the first critics and scholars of the age. She composed in Latin, both in prose and verse; she also translated from both the Latin and Greek with fidelity and elegance.

As a relaxation from severer studies, she cultivated music with success, both vocal and instrumental. She possessed a fine voice, which she modulated with great skill and management. The first masters were ambitious of assisting her, among whom were, Giaches d'Uuerto, Lusasco Lusachi, and Horatio, who taught her the violin, on which, as on the lute, she played with exquisite skill. Alphonsus II. duke of Ferrara, who had a passion for the arts, was transported by her performance and execution. She instituted a female concert, over which she presided, and which did her great credit.

To this account of the endowments of Tarquinia by Hilarian de Coste, may be added the eulogium of Paul de Ribera:* "You have not," said he, addressing Tarquinia, "read books superficially, as is the custom of ladies, nor do you merely possess, in its purity, the Tuscan language; but also the Greek and the Latin, in the former of which you read and understand, not merely the orators and historians, but the philosophers and Plato himself, Jove's rival in eloquence. You are also acquainted with the poets, and read Pindar without difficulty. And, what almost surpasses belief, you learned Greek, while I read Plato to you, in the space of three months. You compose, with facility, verses in Latin, while in Tuscan you

* Or, according to other writers, Francis Patricius, one of her tutors.

produce poems full of wit and ingenuity. The subtleties of logic you solve without difficulty: of the ethics of Plutarch, Aristotle and Plato, you are perfectly mistress. What proficiency have you made in physics, in casuistry, in divinity! How incomparable is your skill in music, in which you have no equal! When you sing to the lute, or to your lyre, the Graces and the Muses adorn and inspire you. Language is inadequate to give an idea of your perfections. What wit, what spirit, what a charm in your conversation! what sweetness in your manners, what elegance in your deportment! Bendictus Manzolus, your countryman, bishop of Reggio, has justly exalted you, not only above your father, the eloquent Camillus, but also your grandfather, Francis Maria Molsa, a man not less eminent for his talents than for his merit."

This lady, so highly extolled by contemporary writers, espoused Paulus Porrinus, whose widow she became while yet in the bloom of youth. Overwhelmed by this affliction, she was compared to Artemesia for the excess of her sorrow: though childless, she determined never to contract a second marriage.

She was highly esteemed at the court of Ferrara; while Rome, in presenting to her the freedom of the city, conferred upon her an honour unprecedented among her sex. "The senate and people of Rome," says Hilarion de Coste, "decreed to her, in testimony of her merit, the privileges of a Roman citizen; which, to do her yet more honour, was extended to the whole family of Molsa." The following is a translation of the grant or patent: "As Fabius Matheus Franciscus Soricius, knight, and Dominicus Coccia, consul, have proposed to the senate to grant the freedom of the city of Rome to Tarquinia Molsa of Modena, the daughter of Camillus, the senate and people of Rome have thus decreed: Though it be new and uncommon for the senate to admit into the number of citizens women, whose merits and fame, being confined within the limits of domestic virtues, can seldom be of public utility to the commonwealth: yet if there be among them one, who surpasses not merely her own sex, but even men in almost all the virtues, it is just and reasonable that, by a new example, new and unusual honours should be paid to new and unusual merit. Since, therefore, Tarquinia Molsa, a native of Modena, a most

ancient and flourishing colony of the people of Rome, and daughter of Camillus (who, for his merits and nobility, was made knight of the order of St. James, &c.), imitates, and by her virtues resembles, those famous Roman heroines, wanting to complete her glory but the honour of a citizen of Rome; we, the senate and people of Rome, have decreed to present her with the freedom, &c."

In the patent, inserted by Ribera in her eulogium, the qualities, studies, endowments, birth, and ancestors of Tarquinia, are particularly enumerated. The decree passed in the capital, Dec. 8th, M.DC. Curtio Martolo and Angelo Fosco, being chancellors of the senate and of the Roman people.

Tarquinia is said, by Ribera, to have retained her beauty and graceful manners till an advanced period of life, and to have confirmed the opinion of Euripides, "that the autumn of beauty is not less pleasing than its spring." It is added, that the perfections of her mind surpassed the graces of her person; and that in virtue and learning she ranked with the most eminent and illustrious characters. She is extolled by the same writer for her chastity and modesty. Hilarion de Coste describes her as visited by the most accomplished persons of all countries, whom the reputation of her extraordinary endowments attracted. By a homage so flattering, he affirms, she was never intoxicated; that, fond of a quiet and retired life, she avoided rather than courted distinction; and that her manners were equally distant from self-complacency and contempt for others. Should there appear something like exaggeration in these accounts, it must be remembered, that, before the diffusion of literature, small talents were conspicuous and meritorious in proportion as they were rare and of difficult attainment.

Bayle's Historical Dictionary—The Female Worthies, &c.

THE HON. MRS. MONK.

The hon. Mrs. Monk, daughter of lord Molesworth, an Irish nobleman, and wife to George Monk, esq. is celebrated for her poetical talents. She acquired by her own application a perfect knowledge of the Latin, Italian, and Spanish languages; and, from a study of the best authors, a decided taste for poetical composition. She appears to have written for her

own amusement, rather than with any view to publication. Her poems were not printed till after her death, when they were published under the title of "Marinda; Poems and Translations upon several Occasions," 8vo, London, 1716. A dedication to Caroline, princess of Wales, was prefixed to them by lord Molesworth, the father of Mrs. Monk, who speaks of the poems as the "production of the leisure hours of a young woman, who, in a remote country retirement, without other assistance than that of a good library, and without omitting the daily care due to a large family, not only acquired the several languages here made use of, but the good morals and principles contained in those books, so as to put them in practice, as well during her life and languishing sickness, as at the hour of her death; dying not only like a christian, but a Roman lady, and becoming at once the grief and the comfort of her relations."

These poems and translations are said by Mr. Jacob, in his Lives of the Poets, to have, with the true spirit of poetry, a delicacy of turn, and justness of thought and expression. The subjects are: "Run-away Love," translated from Tasso: "An Eclogue, in return for a tale sent by a friend:" "Masque of the Virtues against Love," from Guarini: "Human Frailty:" "On Providence:" "The Timorous Lover," from Guarini: part of the fifth scene of the second act of Pastor Fido, translated: "A pastoral Dialogue," from the Spanish: "On a Lady's Statue in marble:" "Sonetto from Guarini:" "Canzone, from Petrarch:" "An Epistle to Marinda:" "To Marinda; a puerperium canzone of Monsignior Della Casa:" "A Dialogue between Lucinda and Strephon, on a Butterfly that revived before the fire, and afterwards flying into it, was burned:" "An Ode on the late Queen's Birth-day:" "On seeing the present Empress of Germany:" "Madrigals," in imitation of the Italian: "A Translation from Tasso; Gierusalemme Liberata:" "Upon Orpheus and Euridice," from the Spanish: "Mocoli, a poem, addressed to colonel Richard Molesworth, at the camp at Pratzdel Rey, in Catalonia, 1711:" "Epitaph on a Lady of Pleasure;

O'er this marble drop a tear,
Here lies fair Rosalinde;
All mankind were pleas'd with her,
And she with all mankind."

On her death-bed, 1715, at Bath, Mrs. Monk addressed some verses to her husband, in London, in which she takes an affecting leave of him.

Ballard's British Ladies, &c.

MORATA (OLYMPIA FULVIA).

Olympia Fulvia Morata was born at Ferrara, in 1526. The talents and merits of her father, who taught the belles-lettres in several cities of Italy, advanced him to the post of preceptor to the young princes of Ferrara, sons of Alphonsus I. The capacity and thirst of knowledge displayed by his daughter, induced him to cultivate her genius; when the rapidity of her progress excited the surprise and admiration of the court. She was chosen for a companion to the princess of Ferrara, who was studying polite literature, for the purpose of exciting in her a generous emulation. She answered, on this occasion, without difficulty, the questions that were proposed to her, declaimed in Latin and Greek, and explained the paradoxes of Cicero, to the astonishment of her auditors.

On the death of her father, her mother being an invalid, Olympia was recalled home, to superintend the affairs of the family, and the education of a brother and three sisters. Some offence, of what nature is unknown, which she had given to the dutchess of Ferrara, is also alleged as a cause of her removal from court.

Andrew Grunthler, a young German, who had studied physic, and taken his doctor's degree at Ferrara, becoming captivated by the endowments of Olympia, prevailed on her to give him her hand. After her marriage, she went with her husband to Germany, taking with her her brother, whom she carefully instructed in the Greek and Latin languages. They arrived at Augsburgh in 1548, and, after a transient stay, proceeded to Schweinfurt in Franconia, the native place of Grunthler. Schweinfurt was shortly after besieged and burnt: Olympia and her husband escaped with difficulty, and fled, in the utmost distress, to Hammelburgh, where they were not suffered to remain. When reduced to extremities, Grunthler fortunately received from the elector palatine an invitation to

be professor of physic at Heidelberg. This event happened in 1554, when, believing themselves eligibly settled, this unfortunate pair began to hope for repose. But the distresses and hardships which Olympia had suffered, undermined her health; she was seized, at the moment of a reverse of fortunes, with a severe indisposition, and, after lingering for some months, died October 26th, 1555, in the twenty-ninth year of her age. On coming into Germany, she had embraced the protestant religion, in the profession of which she continued till her death.

She was the author of several works, a great part of which were burned with the town of Schweinfurt: the remainder were collected by Cælius Secundus Curio, and published at Basil, 1558. They consisted principally of orations, dialogues, letters, and translations.

Biographium Fœmineum, &c.

COUNTESS OF MOUNTFORT.

JANE of Flanders, countess of Mountfort, the most extraordinary woman of her age, was, in 1342, roused by the captivity of her husband, and the falling fortunes of her family, to the most heroic efforts. In a disputed succession in Brittany, which the count of Mountfort claimed as his inheritance, he was besieged in the city of Nantz, which having been taken by treachery, he fell into the hands of his enemies, and was conducted a prisoner to Paris. No sooner had the countess received intelligence of the fate of her husband, than she assembled the inhabitants of Rennes, where she at that time resided, and, carrying in her arms her infant son, recounted to them what had passed; deplored the fate of her husband, and recommended to the care of the people his unfortunate orphan, the sole remaining heir of their ancient princes, to whom they had ever professed the most zealous attachment. She declared herself willing, in a cause so just, to risk every peril and hazard; she spoke of the sources which, in the alliance of England, still remained to them, and exhorted them to make one generous effort against an usurper, whom France was desirous of imposing upon the states. Moved by her eloquence, her cou-

rage, and her affecting situation, the audience vowed, in defending the rights of her family, to conquer or perish with the countess. The other fortresses of Brittany caught the same spirit, and embraced the same resolution. The countess passed from place to place, encouraging the garrisons, and providing them with the means of subsistence and defence. After having put the whole province in a posture of resistance, she shut herself up in Hennebonne, where she waited with impatience the promised succours from England, to which she sent over her son, for his safety, and for a pledge.

Charles de Blois, the competitor of her husband, solicitous to make himself master of so important a fortress, and, still more, to make the countess, whose courage and capacity he dreaded, a prisoner of war, sat down before Hennebonne with a numerous army, and conducted the attack with industry and vigour. The defence was not less spirited; the besiegers were repulsed in every assault, while frequent and successful sallies were made by the garrison. In all military operations, the countess herself was the first and most active. Having one day perceived that the enemy, employed in an attack, had neglected to provide for the security of a distant quarter of their camp, she immediately sallied forth, at the head of two hundred horse, threw the besiegers into confusion, and, with a great slaughter, set fire to their tents, their baggage, and their magazines. But on her return to the garrison, she found herself intercepted, and her retreat cut off, the enemy having thrown themselves between her and the gates. Her resolution was taken in the instant: she ordered her men to disband, and to make the best of their way to Brest. At an appointed place of rendezvous, she met them, collected another body of five hundred horse, returned to Hennebonne, broke unexpectedly through the enemy's camp, and was received by the garrison with acclamations of joy: encouraged by this example of female heroism, and by the reinforcement brought by the countess, they determined to defend themselves to the last extremity.

The reiterated attacks of the besiegers, and the repeated breaches made in the walls, at length rendered it necessary for the besieged, every hour in expectation of a general assault, diminished in numbers and exhausted by fatigue, to treat for a capitulation. During a conference for that purpose, in which

the bishop of Leon was engaged with Charles de Blois, the countess, who had mounted a high tower, which commanded a view of the sea, descried some sails at a distance, and immediately exclaimed, 'Behold the succours! the English succours! no capitulation!' This fleet, prepared by Edward III. for the relief of Hennebonne, and which had been detained by contrary winds, entered the harbour under the command of sir Walter Manny, one of the bravest captains of England. The garrison were, by this reinforcement, animated with fresh spirits: they immediately sallied forth, beat the besiegers from their posts, and obliged them to decamp.

The countess, notwithstanding this reverse of fortune, finding herself overpowered by superior numbers, determined on passing over to England, to solicit from Edward more effectual aid. Having obtained from him a considerable reinforcement, under Robert d'Artois, she embarked on board of a fleet of forty-five ships, and sailed back towards Brittany. They were met by the enemy in their passage, when an action ensued: the countess, with her usual courage, charged the foe sword in hand; but the fleets, after a sharp action were separated by a storm, and the English reached Brittany in safety. Robert d'Artois was successful in his first exploits, but survived his triumphs only a short time; when the party of Charles regained their advantage. The king of England himself, after these vicissitudes, undertook in person the defence of the countess; when the war became more general, and was thenceforth conducted in the name, and under the standard, of the English and French monarchies, which had previously acted only as allies to the competitors for Brittany.

The flames of war still continued their devastations, when Charles de Blois, having invested the fortress of Roche de Rien, the countess of Mountfort, reinforced by some English troops, attacked him during the night in his entrenchments, dispersed his army and took him prisoner. His wife, in whose right he had pretended to Brittany, compelled by the captivity of her husband, assumed, in her turn, the government of the party, and opposed herself, a formidable and worthy rival, both in the cabinet and in the field, to the countess of Mountfort.

The mediation of France and England failed to put an end

to the disputes in Brittany, till Charles de Blois was at length slain, at the battle of Auray. The young count de Mountfort, soon after, got entire possession of the dutchy, and, though a zealous partizan of England, had his title acknowledged by the French king, to whom he did homage for his dominions.

Hume's History of England, &c.

END OF VOLUME THE SECOND.

UNIV. OF MICHIGAN

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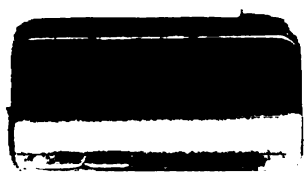
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